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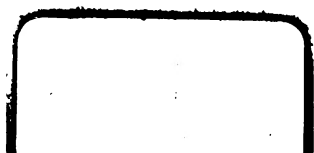
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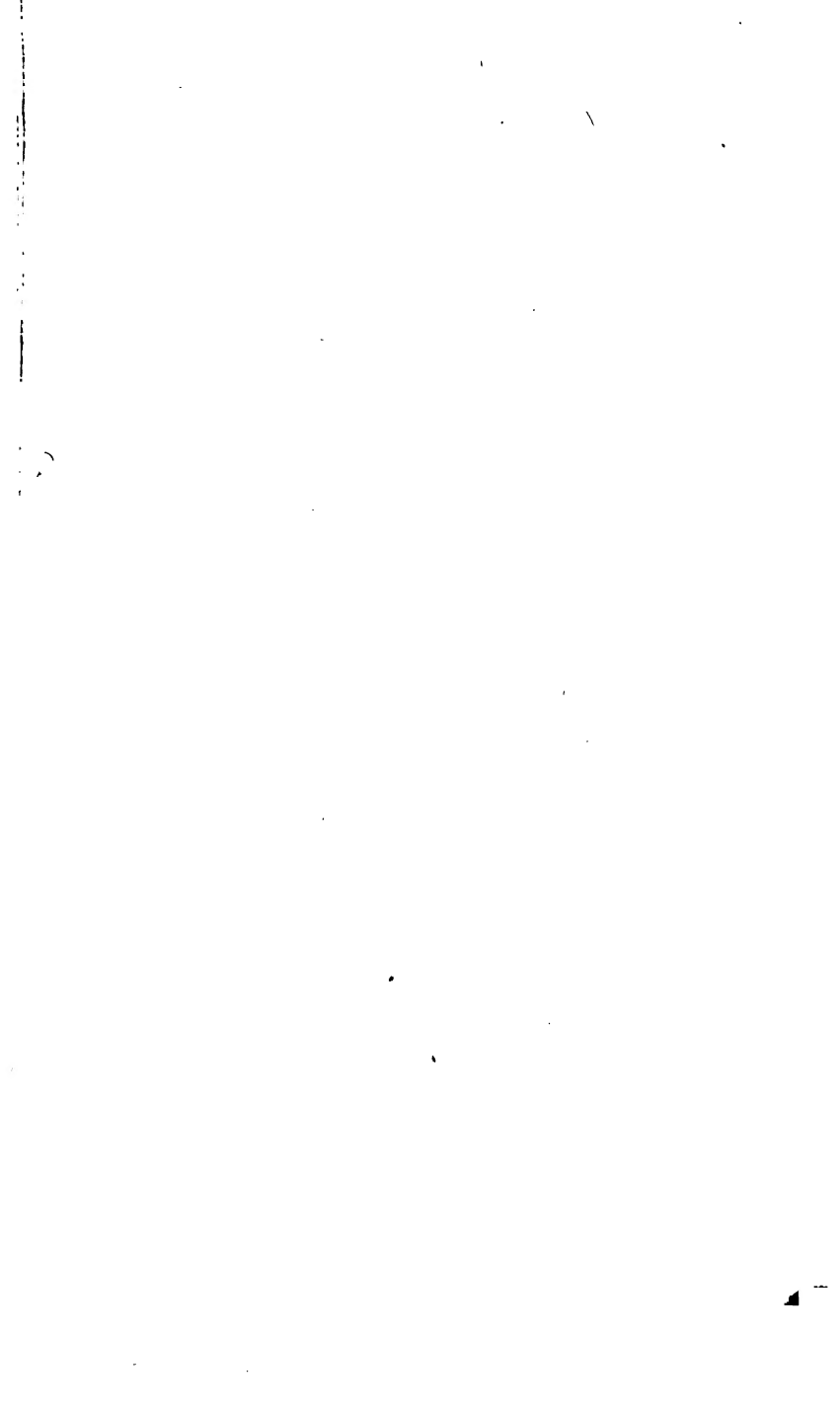


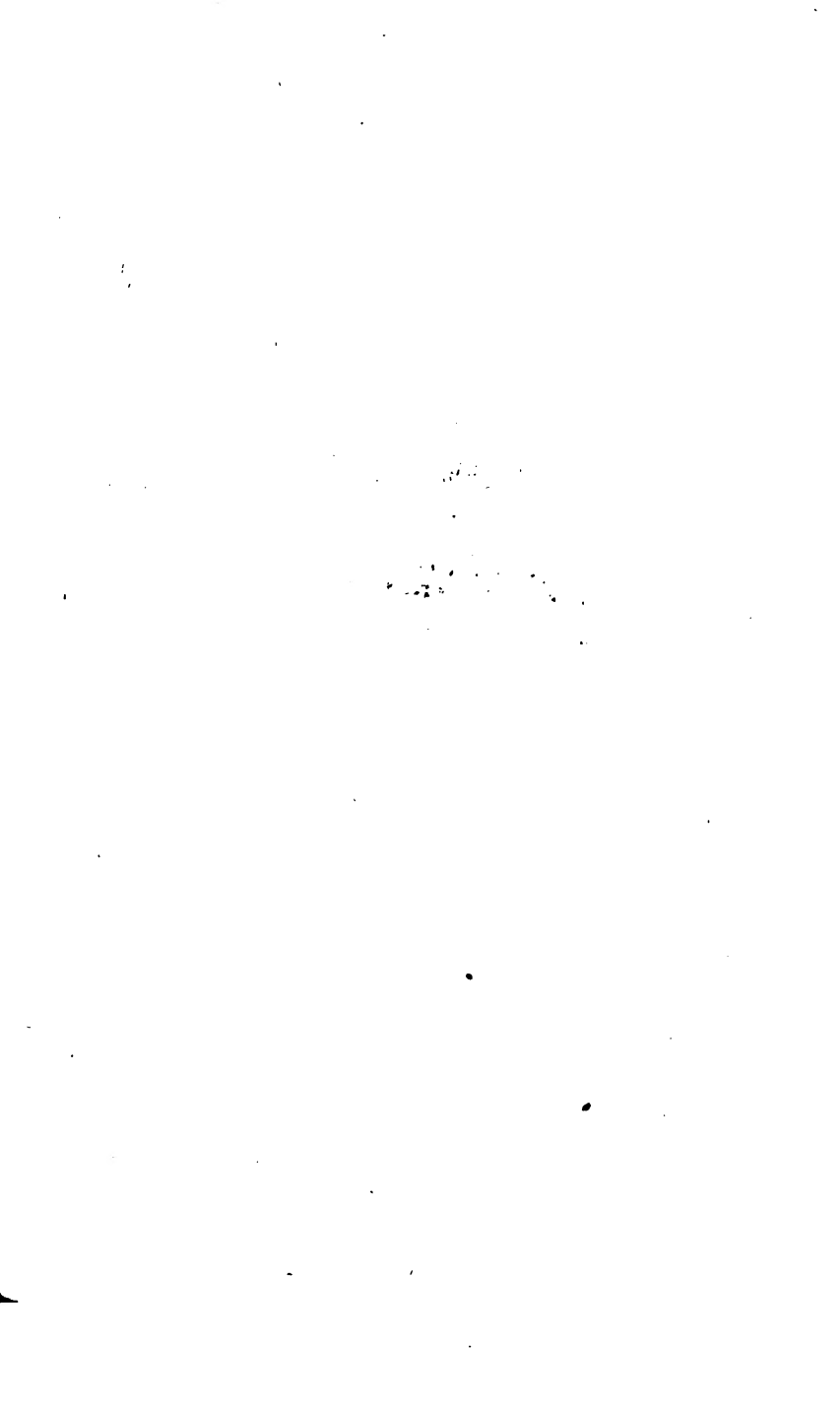
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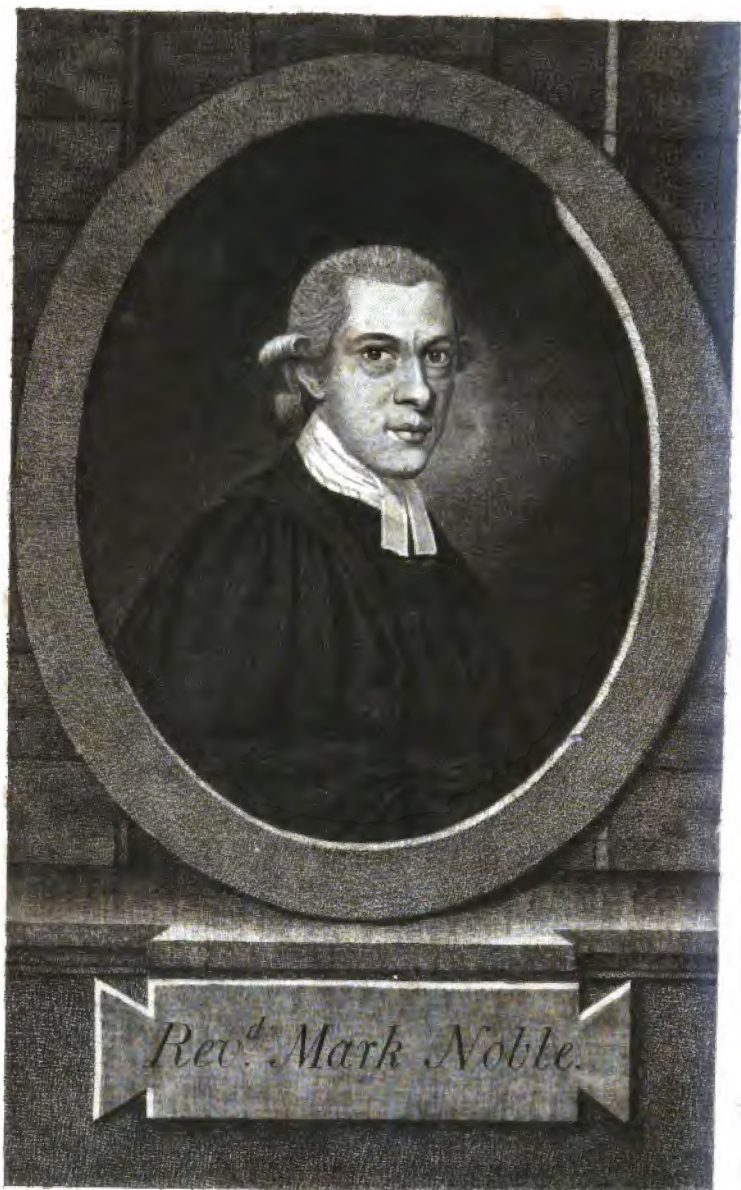






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T H E
P R E F A C E.

WHATEVER elucidates our history is deserving the attention of a briton; little apology, therefore, is necessary for offering the following sheets to the public.

The first volume contains memoirs of the Cromwells only ; a family most eminently conspicuous from having given two sovereigns to these nations ; one of whom, it has been justly remarked, was the greatest man that has owed his existence to this island ; and besides the two protectors, this family has produced various characters, who from their eminent abilities, the very remarkable occurrences that attended them, the great employments they have enjoyed, and their near affinity to the two princes of their name, deserve our attention. With a wish to prevent, as much as possible, giving what

has appeared before, and to make this an entire new work ; the latter part of the life of Oliver and the protectorate of Richard are omitted, they having been given frequently by others.

To ascertain the truth of these memoirs, proofs are added, the more necessary, as sometimes what is here given is quite contrary to what others have advanced ; and where such circumstances occur that are interesting, but from their length would appear tedious, they are either placed in notes, or given as illustrations, and put with the proofs ; and likewise, that nothing should be wanting to give entire satisfaction, an appendix is also added, consisting of extracts from the registers of the various parishes where any of the Cromwells resided ; no references, however, are made in the body of the volume, as it would have only swelled out the work, and given much trouble, without in the least tending to convenience the reader ; but it may be here necessary to observe,

observe, that a birth, baptism, marriage, or burial of any of the Cromwells, mentioned in this volume, as happening in the parishes of All Saints, St. John the Baptist, and — in Huntingdon, Ramsey, Upwood, Chippenham, Hursley, or Wicken, will be found under the letters A, B, C, D, E, F, G, and H, in the appendix.

The second volume comprizes memoirs of such persons and families as were either descended from or allied to the Cromwells; such a selection of names as it contains can scarce be paralleled, for which reason this volume will, it is expected, be equally entertaining as the first: some families are here mentioned whose histories are given in the peerage or baronetage, but for reasons that will immediately present themselves, they are there written in a very defective manner, and in many instances directly contrary to truth, especially during the civil war and interregnum; a catalogue is subjoined of such persons who were raised

to honors or great employments by the Cromwells, with the lives of many of them, so that these volumes include the history of several hundred illustrious persons, most of whom lived in the middle of the last century, a period the most interesting of any in our annals.

All our histories have been taxed with partiality, but those relating to the seventeenth century with the grossest; it is hoped this work has not the same fault, as the author can solemnly assure his reader, that though a sincere friend both to the religious and civil establishments, yet he disclaims all party prejudice, having neither favored nor villified any person, sect, or party, but, to the best of his judgment, given each their just praise or deserved censure; he would be ashamed to dislike any man's opinion so much as not to do the most ample justice to his character: he has, throughout the work, expressed his sentiments with the freedom becoming a subject of a land of liberty;

liberty ; nor can there be any just reasons urged, why persons living in the last century should not have equal justice and impartiality shewn to them as those of any other æra of our history, but which (desirable as it might be) was not to be expected till within these few years ; love, fear, or resentment, the great swayers of human actions, often led the writer to deceive the public, by palliating a bad, or giving an ill reason for a good action ; yet it must be allowed, that it is very necessary that several characters that lived during the middle of the last century should be well known, as from them (especially those of the Cromwells and their alliances) some of the causes that led to the most momentous occurrences can be traced ; so that it is hoped both the biographer and historian will not think these pages unworthy his notice.

The greatest attention has been paid in examining the works of our most approved historic writers, and many distant parts of

the kingdom have been visited by the author to inspect authentic memorials ; yet it is an unhappiness that accompanies researches of this kind, that they cannot be complete ; nor is it possible, scarce, to prevent mistakes occurring ; those, who know the fatigue of collecting materials, and classing them for books of this sort, can only form a proper judgment of such a laborious undertaking.

It would be unpardonable not to mention, with the greatest gratitude and respect, the obligations due to those who have contributed to the improvement of these memoirs, by permitting an inspection of records and other curious papers, as the right honorable lord viscount Hampden, sir Thomas Heathcote, bart. commodore sir Richard Bickerton, bart. Lucy Knightley, of Fausley, esq. late member of parliament for Northamptonshire ; col. John Neale, of Allesley ; mr. Smith, alderman, and mr. Hunt, chamberlain of Huntingdon ; to the following reverend gentlemen, for sending or giving permission

mission to the author to take extracts from the registers of their parishes, copying funeral monuments, &c. John Mosse, L. L. D. rector of Great-Hampden ; mr. Hodson, rector of the consolidated parishes of Huntingdon ; the late mr. Weston, of Ramsey ; mr. Turner, rector of Burwell, near Newmarket ; mr. Smith, vicar of St. Ives ; mr. Tookey, vicar of Chippenham ; mr. Carter, rector of Little-Wittenham, near Wallingford ; mess. Benthams, and other clergymen, in Ely (whose names it is a shame to have forgotten) ; mr. Bree, rector of Alleley ; S. Gauntlet. of Hursley ; mr. Copeland, of Marston, in Northamptonshire ; mr. Panchen, of Godmanchester ; obligations, and great ones, are owing to lady Bickerton, miss Cromwell, mrs. and miss Waller, of Beaconsfield ; of mrs. Cunningham, of Checkers ; mrs. Woodhouse, of Lichfield ; miss Trollop, of Huntingdon ; sir John Talbot Dillon, baron of the sacred roman empire ; John-Russell Greenhill, D. D. rector of Cotisford ; Richard-Sutton Yates, D. D. rector

rector of Solihull ; — Raite, M. D. of Huntingdon ; Richard Moland, of Solihull, esq. the curious mr. Green, of Lichfield, mr. Henry Carter, of Little-Wittenham ; rev. R. Davies, and mr. Couchman, of Temple-Balfall, for communicating information or materials ; the libraries of mr. Knightley, mr. Moland, dr. Parrott, of Birmingham, mr. Barker, of the same place, the rev. Samuel Pearson, of Barkeſwell, and some others, have been thrown open to the author ; ſincere thanks are alſo due to William Hutchinson, of Barnard-caſtle, in the biſhopric of Durham, esq. the rev. R. Lovett, rector of Barkeſwell ; the late rev. John Blair, of Whitchurch ; the former for contributing engravings, and the latter for introductory letters ; beſides ſeveral friends for ſome trifling information ; nor muſt the kind intentions of the rev. E. Bradford, rector of Baberham, be forgotten.

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ERRATA.

E R R A T A.

Page 16, line 20, for *were*, read *was*.---Page 18, line 15. after *no. I.* r. *vol. II.*---P. 23, l. 24, for *author of a Cavalier*, r. *author of Memoirs of a cavalier*.---P. 31, l. 16, for *reside*, r. *resides*.---P. 36, l. 17, for *Rediva*, r. *Rediviva*.---P. 51, l. 16, for *fr Henry Bromley*, r. *fr Thomas Bromley*.---P. 80, l. 12, for *was called*, r. *as she was called*.---P. 85, l. 3, for *benefac*, r. *benefactor*.---P. 86, l. 23, for *was given*, r. *was given him*.---P. 97, l. 1, for *descended from*, r. *descended*.---P. 102, l. 1, and 2, for *told lord Sandwich that she*, r. *she told me that lord Sandwich*.---P. 110, l. 3, for *thousand*, r. *thousands*.---P. 120, l. 1, for *exceeding*, r. *exceeded*.---P. 136, l. 16, for *subtracted*, r. *substracted*.---P. 203, l. 4, for *complicated*, r. *completed*.---P. 217, l. 12 and 13, for *but instead*, r. *instead*.---P. 227, l. 5, for *be ordered*, r. *ordered*.---P. 233, l. 19, for *Hamstead*, r. *Hampstead*.---P. 274, l. 6, for *Rapine*, r. *Rapin*.---P. 286, l. 8, for *Clenchstone*, r. *Ketstone*.---P. 290, l. 4, for *sanatijm*, r. *sanaticism*.---P. 309, l. 23, for *Vincent's*, r. *Vincent's errors of Brooke's catalogue of nobility*.---P. 323, l. 12, for *dissederata*, r. *disiderata*.---P. 324, l. 6, *same error*.---P. 342, l. 19, for *his*, r. *the*.---P. 344, l. 4 and 5, for *bad be at that time suffered; want would be*, r. *bad be at that time suffered want; would be*.---P. 380, l. 6, for *his cousin Waller*, r. *Mr. Waller*.---P. 389, l. 11, for *Casawdon*, r. *Casauben*.---P. 396, l. 7, for *Ricaut*, r. *Ricaut*.

A D D E N D A.

PART I. sect. ii. *fr Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knight*, p. 18, line 9, add—and was returned a member of parlement for Huntingdonshire in the same year.

Thomas Cromwell, esq. p. 24, l. 6, add—he was also a member for the borough of Foway and Leominster, in parlements held 13 and 39 years of the same reign.

Sect.

A D D E N D A.

Sect. iii. Henry Cromwell, esq. p. 31, l. 2, add—and was returned a member for the borough of Huntingdon, in the first parlement, called by king James I.

Sect. iv. fir Oliver Cromwell, knight of the bath, l. 17, —The conjecture was right; fir Oliver was chosen one of the kinghts for the county of Huntingdonshire, in the parlements called in the 31, 35, 39, and 43 years of queen Elizabeth, and the 1, 12, and 21, of king James I.'s reign.

Sect. vi. Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, esq. p. 74, l. 6, after held in, add—he was one of the representatives of the county of Huntingdon, in 1654, as he was also in that called in 1658-9 in which *.

Page 90, line 12, add—mr. Cromwell's name was John: he was born in Yorkshire, at Barnaby-Moor, where he had a good estate: he gave up Roylton for the rectory of Glaworth, in Nottinghamshire, from which he was ejected: the protector Oliver wished to keep him at court, and offered him 200l. per annum, if he would have gone chaplain with his son Henry, lord deputy of Ireland; but he declined it, saying, he thought 'preaching the gospel the greatest preferment:' he rivalled, and, in the opinion of many, exceeded doctor Owen as a preacher: he suffered many undeserved hardships after the restoration: he was suspected of being engaged in the Yorkshire plot: the duke of Newcastle stood his friend: he died about april; 1685. Bishop

* All the above is from Willis's not. parl. 2 vol. 8vo.—There being two works that have this title, led the author into some omissions.

A D D E N D A.

Reynolds having invited him to his palace, to do him honor, rose up, and went with him to the door, which raised a loud laugh amongst the young clergy, to whom his lordship said, 'that it was ungentleel to scoff at a friend at his table;' adding, 'thus far I can aver, that he has more solid divinity in his little finger, than all you have in your bodies.' It is said, that he was no relation to the protectors; it was certainly prudent in him to say so, but it is most probable he was. See more of his life in the non-conformist memorial.

Part II. sect. i. Robert Cromwell, esq. father of the protector Oliver, p. 95, l. 9, after *late*, add—a seat for his own borough of Huntingdon, in the parlement held 35 Elizabeth's reign, and Willis's not. parl.

— Sect. ii. Oliver lord protector, p. 122, l. 15, after january 28, 1628, add—as he had been for the same place in the first year of that reign. Same work.

Richard, lord protector, p. 205, l. 13, add—and also for the university of Cambridge, as he had been for the counties of Monmouth and Southampton, in that called in 1654.

Part II. p. 227, l. 13. It appears, by Le Neve, that mr. Richard Cromwell, once protector, sent down his youngest daughter, upon his son's death, to take possession of the Hursley estate, which she did; but, the daughters pretending that he was superannuated (and though he was so fond of, and had ever treated them in

the

A D D E N D A.

the most tender manner) proposed to divide the estates amongst them, allowing him something out of them : this he refused to accept, and commenced a suit against them to obtain possession ; and, as he was obliged to appear in person in court, his sister, lady Fauconberg, sent her coach and equipage to conduct him there : he was taken by the judge into an apartment where his lordship had provided refreshments for him, and where he remained till the cause came on ; and when one of the council on the other side, was going to take exceptions to mr. Cromwell's being accommodated with a chair, his lordship told him, ' he would allow of no reflections to be made, but that they should come to the merits of the cause.'

Same, p. 228, l. 18.—The protector, Richard, died at Cheshunt, in the house of serjeant Pengelly ; which, in some measure, authenticates what has been mentioned of the relationship between them. Le Neve's memoirs of illustrious persons who died in 1712 ; but, according to his usual inaccuracy, he gives lord chancellor Cowper, for the lord-chief-justice of the King's-Bench ; with equal truth, he says, that Richard died april 9 ; that his age was 88 ; and that Rushworth's collections was the only book dedicated to him.

Part II. p. 240, l. 1, add—this very poor engraving was of great service to mr. Walpole, in authenticating a picture of this protector, by Cooper, now in his cabinet.

A D D E N D A.

Part IV. sect. i. Henry Cromwell, lord lieutenant of Ireland, p. 258, l. 8, add—which he represented in the parliament called in the same year.

Page 279, l. 17, add—Henry's death was occasioned by that dreadful disorder, the stone: the king was about that time at Newmarket, and was informed of it by the earl of Suffolk: Charles expressed his regard for him, inquired into the particulars of his disorder, and asked whether they had given him his drops; his majesty having always taken much pleasure in chymestry, having a laboratory in Whitehall, over which sir Thomas Williams presided: such is the effects of virtue that it attracts the esteem of all, even of those who seldom or never sacrifice to it.

—Same, p. 282, l. 13, after *as well as impolicy* *exit*, add—his behaviour was so generous, even to those of the roman-catholic communion, that the countess of Antrim, several years after the restoration, was just enough to say, pointing to one of his children, when she dined at Hursley, 'all that we have in the world 'is owing to that gentleman's father!'

Part IV. sect. ii. major Henry Cromwell, p. 289, l. 20. —Le Neve thinks he had a troop of dragoons in colonel Leigh's regiment; was afterwards a captain in lord Mahon's; and, lastly, major to Fielding's regiment of foot: he died in the month of august, at Lisbon. This and the two last are taken from Le Neve's memoirs of illustrious persons who died in 1712.

Proofs

PART I.
SECT. I.

Origin of
the Willi-
ams, alias
Cromwells.

the protector Oliver, and now in the possession of the miss Cromwells, the lineal descendants of that great man—it is thus entitled:

‘ The degree of Kindred, and manner of
‘ increasing of the ancient familie of the
‘ Lords of Powis and Cardigan (in the Prin-
‘ cipalitie of Wales), from whom the right
‘ worshipful Sir Henrie Cromwell, Knight,
‘ now living in 1602, is lyneallie descended,
‘ by the Father’s syde: Whereunto are added,
‘ the progenye and race of other noble and
‘ worshipfull famylies; whose proper steme,
‘ arms, and matches by marriage, are playnlie
‘ set down, and knowen to have combyned
‘ themselves in this descent, as followeth.’

GLOTHIAN,

CROMWELL FAMILY.

3

GLOTHIAN,
Lord
of
Powis.

MORBETH,
daughter and heir of
Edwin ap Tydwali,
Lord of Cardigan.

Gwaith Zoed,
Lord of Powis,
And Cardigan.

Morbeth,
daughter and heir of
Inge Lord of Gwent.

Grogreston ap Gwaith Zoed was Lord of Powis, second son.

Gurganny ap Gwireston ap Gwaith Zoed.

Gurganny Vaughan, the son of Gurganny ap Gwireston.

Gurgan, son of Gurganny Vauhan.

Llowarth, son of Gurgan Vauhan.

Gronvey,
son of
Llowarth.

Katheryn,
daughter of Roger
ap Howell Melin.

Gronvey
Vichan.

Daughter and coheir of
Rhyne ap Siffelt.

Rhyne,
ap Gronvey,
Lord of Rybore.

Daughter of Croon ap Howell Igham,
Lord of Bryga.

Maddock, son of Rhyne, Lord of Rybore.

Howell,
ap Maddock,
Lord of Rybur.

Wenllyan,
daughter and heir of Llyne ap Yeban,
of Rady, by Landafc.

Morgan,
ap
Howell.

Joan,
daughter of Thomas Button, Esq. of
Glamorganshire.

Yeban,
ap Morgan, of New Church, near to
Cardif, in Glamorganshire.

Margaret,
daughter of Jenkin Remys, of
Began, Esq.

William ap Yeban,
served Jasper Duke of Bedford,
and King Henry VIII.

Walter Cromwell,
father of
Thomas Lord Cromwell.

Morgan Williams,
son and heir of
William.

sister of
Tho. Lord Cromwell.

Tho. Lord Cromwell,
created E. of Essex,
31 K. H. VIII.

Elizabeth,
daughter of
— Pryore.

Sir Richard Cromwell, alias Williams.

Gregory Lord Cromwell.

PART I.
SECT. I.

Origin of
the Williams,
alias
Cromwells.

I have taken the pedigree thus far, to convince the curious that the protectorate house of Cromwell derived its origin from Wales—that they bore the name of William, before they assumed that of Cromwell; and consequently, that all who have given different relations were undoubtedly mistaken: to obviate every difficulty, and to answer every objection, I have more particularly refuted the arguments of all who suppose otherwise; but as it might too much interfere and perplex these memoirs, I have appropriated another place for that disquisition*.

The genealogy demands but little attention, till we come to Morgan Williams, for though the whole (prior to him) probably is perfectly authentic, yet, as the Welch chronicles afford little more than a dry detail of names and dates, and as this pedigree respects men who lived in barbarous ages, and a still more savage country, their history could give no pleasure, and but little knowledge.

* Vide letter A in the proofs and illustrations to part I.

Glothian, with whom the genealogy commences, was the fifth lord of Powis, and his lady was descended from Cavedig, of whom the county of Cardigan took the name of Cavedigion; his son, Gwaith Voyd, was lord not only of Powis and Cardigan, but also of Gwayte and Gwaynesaye; he died about the æra of the Norman conquest of England, i. e. 1066, and was buried in Fountain Gate, in the parish of Cavan*.

PART I.
SECT. I.

Origin of
the Williams,
alias
Cromwells.

Morgan Williams, esq. father of sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, was a gentleman of Glamorganshire, possessed of an estate worth about two or three hundred pounds a year;

Morgan
Williams,
great great
grandfather
of Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

* Dr. Thomas Gibbons' appendix to a sermon preached at the death of William Cromwell, esq. 'containing a brief account of the Cromwell family, from before the Norman conquest to the present time.' The doctor says, Gwaith Voyd was wounded in battle against Avifa, a Sythian infidel, in defending the temple of St. David's; but he should have recollected, that St. David never had any temples built to his honour, and that we read of no Sythians invading any part of Britain—probably a pagan Dane, named Avifa, endeavoured to destroy the cathedral church of St. David, and that in the defence of which, Gwaith Voyd might be wounded. The knight-errantry of crusades did not commence till some time after this person's death.

PART I.
SECT. II.

Morgan
Williams,
great great
grandfather
of Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

which estate has been long enjoyed by the family of Lewis, and before them by the Vaughans, and now sets for about 1000l. per annum*; it is also said, that he resided in Llan Newidel parish near Caermarthen†; and as he was in the service of king Henry the seventh's uncle, and some say even privy counsellor to the king himself‡, it is not unlikely but that he might, with the profits of his post, or from grants from the crown, obtain some lands in England. His marriage with the earl of Essex's sister has been disputed; of that, when we come to the history of his son and heir sir Richard: he had another son besides sir Richard, whose christian name was Walter, and who is called Cromwell in the pedigree.

SECTION II.

Sir Richard
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, knt.
great grand-
father of
Oliver, lord
protector.

SIR Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knt. eldest son and heir to Morgan Williams, esq.

* Communicated by the Rev. R. Davies to my very respected friend doctor Yates, upon my application.

† Communicated by Mr. Bevan to doctor Yates.

‡ Likewise communicated by Mr. Bevan to doctor Yates.

was

CROMWELL FAMILY.

7

was born in the parish of Llanishen, in the county of Glamorgan*; the former part of this gentleman's life is unknown: he was brought into the court of king Henry VIII. by an alliance with Thomas Cromwell, the great favourite of that king: who that monarch raised from the lowest situation, to be earl of Essex, vicar-general, and knight of the garter.

PART I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, kn. great grand-father of Oliver, lord protector.

The pedigree states that Morgan Williams, this gentleman's father, married the sister of the earl of Essex; but this is denied by several authors†: be the affinity how it would, certainly there was a relationship between them‡.

Introduced to the person of Henry by so powerful an interest, and possessing so many great qualifications as he did, and those particularly attracting to that sovereign, he soon largely partook of the royal bounty; which

\* Leland's Itinerary—vide letter B in the proofs and illustrations to part I.

† Vide letter C in the proofs and illustrations to part I.

‡ Vide letter D in the proofs and illustrations to part I.

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, knr.
 great grand-
 father of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

Henry lavished upon all who were his fa-
 vorites, and their friends.

It is certain that he stood so high in that monarch's esteem (though it does not appear what service he had then done to the crown) that in 1538, he had the grant of the nunnery of Hinchinbrooke, and monastery of Saltry-Judith, both in the county of Huntingdon*, the yearly values of which were 19l. 9s. 2d. and 199l. 11s. 1d.

Only two years after this (viz. march 4, 1540) the scite with several manors of the rich abbey of Ramsey, all in the same county, was granted to him, 'in consideration of his 'good service and payment of 4663l. 4s. 2d. 'by the tenure, and rent in capite by the 'tenth part of a knight's fee, paying 29l. 16s†;' considerable as this sum (with the service and annual rent then was) it was trifling, in comparison of the prodigious value of that abbey,

* Tanner's Notitia Monast.

† Fuller's church history.

whose

whose annual income was 1987l. 15s. 3d.* much the greatest part of the manors belonging to it, with the abbey itself, became his by this grant; and as Fuller says, it was in part granted him for services done, we may reasonably suppose, that the consideration given was but little in proportion to its value; and that the other grants, if not wholly free, were upon as easy conditions as Ramsey—it is very certain that the dissolved religious houses were disposed of for almost nothing, and this gentleman had, we may presume (from his alliance with the vicar-general, who in fact had the disposal of them) great favor shewn him.—All these grants passed to him by

PART I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
Sir Richard  
Williams,  
alias Crom-  
well, knt.  
great grand-  
father of  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

\* The value of the ecclesiastical lands is intirely taken from Speed's maps, as he acknowledges that he had the history of the county of Huntingdon from 'a very learned and judicious friend of his;' who was no other than Sir Robert Cotton, a gentleman every way qualified for such an undertaking; and the more so as he was a native of and resident in the county.—Hinchinbrooke is valued by fir William Dugdale at 17l. 1s. 4d. and by Speed, in his history of Great-Britain, at 19l. 9s. 2d. Saltry, or Sawtre, by them, at 141l. 3s. 8d. and 199l. 11s. 8d. and Ramsey at 1716l. 12s. 4d. and 1983l. 15s. od. 3q.

the

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, knr.
 great grand-
 father of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

the names of Richard Williams, alias Crom-
 well*.

In the same year he eminently distinguished
 himself by his military skill and gallantry; as
 the circumstances attending it are very mate-
 rial to the history of this family, I will tran-
 scribe it as given by the laborious Stow†:
 ‘ On May-day (say they) was a great triumph
 ‘ of jousting at Westminster, which jousts had
 ‘ been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scot-
 ‘ land, and Spain, for all commers that would,
 ‘ against the challengers of England, which
 ‘ were Sir John Dudley, Sir T. Seymour, Sir
 ‘ T. Poinings, Sir George Carew, knights;
 ‘ Anthony Kingston, and Richard Cromwell,
 ‘ esquires; which said challengers came into
 ‘ the listes that day, richly appareled, and
 ‘ and their horses trapped all in white velvet,

* Tanner’s Not. Monast.

† Stow’s chronicle; the jousting, &c. is copied verbatim
 by Hollingshed in his chronicle; Hall also in his chronicle
 gives the same relation as Stow, though much more
 concise.

‘ with

' with certain knights and gentlemen riding
 ' afore them; apparelled all with velvet, and
 ' white farfenet, and all their servants in white
 ' doublets, and hosen cut all in the Burgonion
 ' fashjon; and there came to just against them,
 ' the said day, of defendants 46, the earl of
 ' Surrey being the foremost; Lord Williame
 ' Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell,
 ' son and heir to T. Cromwell, earle of Essex,
 ' and chamberlaine of England, with other,
 ' which were all richly apparelled. And that
 ' day Sir John Dudley was overthrowne in the
 ' field by mischance of his horse, by one An-
 ' drew Breme, nevertheless he brake divers
 ' spears valiantly after that; and after the said
 ' juffs were done, the said challengers rode to
 ' Durham place, where they kept open house-
 ' hold, and feasted the king and queen, with
 ' their ladies, and all the court.

PART I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard  
 Williams,  
 alias Crom-  
 well, knt.  
 great grand-  
 father of  
 Oliver, lord  
 protector.

' The 2d of May, Anthony Kingstone and  
 ' Richard Cromwell were made knights of the  
 ' said place.

' The 3d of May, the said challengers did  
 ' Tourney on horseback, with swords; against  
 them

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, knt.
 great grand-
 father of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

‘ them came 29 defendants: Sir John Dudley,
 ‘ and the earl of Surrey running first, which the
 ‘ first course lost their gauntlets, and that day
 ‘ Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew M. Palmer
 ‘ in the fiede off his horse, to the great ho-
 ‘ nour of the challengers.

‘ The 5th of May the said challengers faught
 ‘ on foot, at the Barriers, and against them
 ‘ came 30 defendants, which faught valiantly,
 ‘ but Sir Richard Cromwell overthrew that
 ‘ day, at the barriers, M. Culpepper in the
 ‘ field, and the sixt of May the said chal-
 ‘ lengers brake up their household.

‘ In the which time of their house-keeping
 ‘ they had not only feasted the king, queen,
 ‘ ladies, and the whole court, as is aforesaid,
 ‘ but also on the Tuesday in the rogation
 ‘ weeke, they feasted all the knights and bur-
 ‘ gesses of the common house in the parli-
 ‘ ment; and on the morrow after they had
 ‘ the mayor of London, the aldermen, and all
 ‘ their wives to dinner, and on the Friday
 ‘ they brake it up as is aforesaid.’

Sir

Sir Richard and the five other challengers had each of them, as a reward for their valor, one hundred marks annually, with a house to live in, to them and their heirs for ever, granted out of the monastery of the friars of St. Francis, in Stamford, which was dissolved october 8, 30 Henry VIII*.

PART. I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
Sir Richard  
Williams,  
alias Crom-  
well, kn.  
great grand-  
father of  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

We may form a proper idea of the gallantry of our knight, and the esteem that the king had for him on that account, from the following anecdote: when Henry saw sir Richard's prowess he was so enraptured, that he exclaimed, 'formerly thou wast my dick, but hereafter thou shalt be my diamond;' and thereupon dropped a diamond ring from his finger, which sir Richard taking up, his majesty presented it to him, bidding him ever afterwards bear such a one in the fore gamb of the demy lion in his crest†, instead of the javelin; and which the elder branch of the Cromwells constantly did, as did the protector

\* Fuller's history of the church.

† Same author and work.

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, kn.
 great grand-
 father of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

Oliver himself likewise upon his assumption of the sovereignty (before he used it with the javelin*.)

It is now proper to speak of the reason of his changing his name from William to Cromwell: Henry VIII. strongly recommended it to the Welch (who he incorporated with the English) to adopt the mode of most civilized nations, in taking family names, instead of their manner of adding their father's, and perhaps, grandfather's name to their own christian one, with nap or ap between the christian and surname, as Morgan ap Williams, or Richard ap Morgan ap Williams, i. e. Richard the son of Morgan, the son of William; and the king was the more anxious, as it was found so inconvenient in identifying persons in judicial matters.—Therefore the Welch, about this

* I am clear that Oliver the protector bore for a crest a demy lion holding a spear, before his exaltation, and a stone ring after; from the many seals to commissions that I have seen of his; Peck says the same thing, but not knowing the bearings of the family, supposes the ring was placed in the lion's gamb when protector, to signify thereby that he was married to the state.

time,

CROMWELL FAMILY.

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time, dropped the *ap* in many of their names, or if it could be done with convenience as to pronunciation, left out the *a*, and joined the *p* to their christian name*; thus *mr. Morgan ap William*, *sr* Richard's father, seems, from the pedigree, to have taken the name of William for his family name; but as the surname of Williams was of so late standing, his majesty recommended it to *sr* Richard to use that of Cromwell, in honor of his relation the earl of Essex, whose present greatness intirely obliterated his former meanness†.

PART I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
Sir Richard Williams,  
alias Cromwell, knr.  
great grandfather of  
Oliver, lord protector.

Thus did the Williams take the surname of Cromwell, or rather added it to that of Williams, for in all the writings I have seen of this family they constantly put it with an alias,

\* Camden's remains, from whom we learn that this was the reason of the many christian names being appropriated to those of families, we have the Williams', Lewis', Morgans' &c. &c. without number, and by joining the *p*, the Prichards, Powels, Parrys, Prices, i. e. *ap* Richard, *ap* Howel, *ap* Harry, *ap* Rheefe, &c. &c.

† Various lives of Oliver, lord protector, and other works, as also the pedigree.

and

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, kn.
 great grand-
 father of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

and that of Williams always precedes that of Cromwell.

Though the cause of this change is well known, the time is not; many writers pretend the name of Cromwell was not taken up till the time of sir Richard's being knighted; but this is certainly erroneous, as we see that the grants of ecclesiastical lands passed to him by his names of William, alias Cromwell, so early as 1538: these authors are equally mistaken in supposing that the king never knew our knight till the tournament, which cannot be, because those very grants passed some time before these martial games.

With the name of Cromwell sir Richard did not assume the arms of that family, but retained those of his ancestors (the augmentation of his crest only excepted) and which had nothing to do with the Cromwells, for his coat of arms were, sable, a lion rampant, argent, the crest a demy lion rampant, argent; in his dexter gamb a jem ring, or*.

The

* Vide the engravings of the armorial bearings of the Cromwells, at Hinchinbrooke-house, built by them; the
 seals

The sudden fall and violent death of sir Richard's kinsman, Cromwell, earl of Essex,

PART I.
SECT. II.

Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, kn. great grand-father to Oliver, lord protector.

seals of Oliver in Vertue's engravings of Simon's works; and the seal of Oliver in Peck's life of him.

It is certain that Cromwell, earl of Essex had no paternal shield of arms, as may be learnt from Fuller, who speaking of the humility of that unfortunate nobleman, says, 'formerly there flourished a notable family of Cromwell, of Tattershall, in Lincolnshire, especially since Sir Ralph Cromwell married the younger daughter and coheir of William the last Lord Deincourt. Now there wanted not some flattering heraults, excellent chemists in pedigree, to extract any thing from any thing, who would have entitled this Lord Cromwell to the arms of that ancient family (extinct in the issue male thereof) about the end of king Henry the sixth. His answer unto them was thus, "he would not weare another man's coat, for fear the owner thereof should pluck it off his ears;" and preferred rather to take a coate, viz. * *Azure, On a Fess inter three lions rampant, Or a rose gules betwixt two choughes proper* (being some what of the fullest) the epidemical disease of all armes given in the reign of Henry the eighth.'—So also Milles, York, Vincent, Brook, Morgan, and Speed.

* See Vincent on the earles of Essex.

This modesty (so natural to the vicar-general) was not copied by his son Gregory lord Cromwell; who, instead of his father's arms, took or and azure, four lions passant, countercharged. Chaxton's maps, and York's sphere of gentry.—Mr. Edmondson has strangely confused the bearings of the Cromwells.

C

who

PART I.
SECT. II.

—
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, knr.
 great grand-
 father to
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

who fell a victim to the caprice of a tyrant *, did not injure (as might have been supposed) his fortunes, for in 1541 he was appointed high sheriff of the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge, which counties are joined together in one civil administration, there being but one high sheriff for both; and this has been immemorially the custom, and still continues to be so †.

In the following year his majesty likewise gave him a grant of the monastery of St. Mary's, in the town of Huntingdon, and St. Neot's ‡, whose yearly values were 232l. 7s. and 256l. 1s. 3d ‖.

He

* Vide No. I. in the list of persons and families allied to the protectorate house of Cromwell; in which is some account of Thomas earl of Essex and his descendants.

† Various lives of the protector Oliver, &c.—The sheriff for the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge is chosen one year out of the latter, in general; the second year, out of the ille of Ely; and the third from Huntingdonshire.

‡ Tanner's Not. Monast.

‖ Speed's maps.—Dugdale values St. Mary's at 187l. 13s. 8d. and Speed, in his history of Great Britain, at

232l.

He was made one of the gentlemen of the privy chamber to his majesty, in 1543*: A war breaking out with France in this year, he was sent over to that kingdom, as general of the infantry; indeed all the officers for this expedition were selected, they being 'all right hardie and valient knights, esquires, and gentlemen†.'

PART I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knt. great grandfather to Oliver, lord protector.

This force, which amounted to 6000, having crossed the water, marched out of Calais, to join the emperor, July 22, to attempt with him to retake Landrecy, which had lately been wrested from that monarch by the French.

232l. 7s. Dugdale and sir Simon Degge value St. Neot's at 241l. 11s. 4d.—These grants passed to him, says Tanner, by the files of sir Richard Cromwell, alias Williams, and sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell.

\* Dugdale's Baronage.

† In the expedition to France were the flower of the English chivalry, viz. sir John Trollop, governor of Guyen, commander in chief; sir Thomas Seymour, marshal of the army; sir Robert Bowes, treasurer; sir George Carew, lieutenant to sir Richard Cromwell; sir Thomas Palmer, porter of Calais; sir Thomas Rainsford, sir John St. John, and sir John Gascoigne, captain of foot. Hollingshed's chronicle, with those of Hall, Grafton, Cooper, and Stow.

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, kn.
 great grand-
 father to
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

Francis I. king of France, anxious to save the place, appeared before it, and the allies, with the emperor Charles V. at their head, as boldly opposed them, but when both parties thought a battle inevitable, and the allies had drawn out their army, the French king took that opportunity of throwing in men, ammunition, and provisions, and having relieved the place marched away; the allies to revenge themselves attacked the dauphin, who was left with the rearward, but being too eager, they fell into an ambuscade, and many of the English were taken prisoners, amongst them were sir George Carew, sir Thomas Palmer, and sir Edward Bellingham; however, they amply retorted upon the French, killing and taking great numbers.

It is allowed that these forces behaved themselves with great gallantry during their short stay in France*, which was only till november in the same year†.

* Hollingshed's chronicle.

† Cooper's chronicle.

Of this expedition our history is very defective; the particular achievements of the gallant individuals that composed the army, authors are silent; which Hollingshed, in his chronicle, judiciously laments: but, from the approved valor of sir Richard, we may suppose he behaved with his usual good conduct, especially, as in the year following, 1544, his majesty appointed him constable of Berkley castle*.

PART I.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
Sir Richard  
Williams,  
alias Crom-  
well, kn.  
great grand-  
father to  
Oliver, lord  
protector,

I find nothing mentioned of him after this; neither is the time of his death or place of sepulture known.

Before I quit the history of sir Richard; I cannot help observing, that he must have left a prodigious fortune to his family, by what he possessed by descent, grants, and purchases of church lands, and from the sums he must have acquired by filling very lucrative employments, with the liberal donations given him by his sovereign king Henry VIII. this is evident from his possessions in ecclesiastical lands in

\* Dugdale's baronage.

PART I.  
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, kn.
 great grand-
 father to
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

Huntingdonshire*; the annual amount of which, at an easy rent, were worth at least 3000l. per ann. these estates only in Fuller's time† were, he says; worth 20,000l. and others 30,000l. annually, and upwards, and from what these estates now set for, in and near Ramsey‡ and Huntingdon (which are only a part of them) I should presume that sir Richard's estates, in that county only, would now bring in as large a revenue as any peer at this time enjoys.

* It does not appear from Tanner, or any other of our writers, that sir Richard Cromwell had any other church possessions, except those in the county of Huntingdon, and part of those of St. Francis' monastery in Stamford.

† Fuller's worthies.

‡ The abbey of Ramsey was one of the richest foundations in the kingdom, all the lands of which, in the county of Huntingdon, are said to have been granted to sir Richard Cromwell. The abbot was mitred, and sat in the house of lords as baron of Broughton; the abbey had 387 hides of land, 200 of which were in Huntingdonshire. Dugdale and others mistake when they say that sir Richard Cromwell had all the ecclesiastic lands belonging to the dissolved foundations in that county; for Tanner affirms, that St. Ives was granted to sir Thomas Audley; Stonely to Oliver Leder, and a house belonging to the Augustine friars, which stood at the north end of the town of Huntingdon, to Thomas Arden.

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Sir Richard married, in 1518, Frances daughter of sir Thomas Murfyn*, a native of Cambridgeshire†, who was a skinner in London, and served the office of sheriff of that city, with Nicholas Shelton, in 1511, and was lord mayor in the year 1518‡. Lady Frances died at Stepney, and was there buried, February 20, 1533, 25 Henry VIII§.

PART I
SECT. II

Lady Frances, wife of Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knt.

The issue of sir Richard and lady Frances is not mentioned by any person, except Henry their son and heir; but I apprehend the following to be their children also.

Supposed younger children of sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knt.

Thomas Cromwell, esq. who was sheriff of the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge,

Thomas Cromwell. esq.

* Pedigree above-mentioned, and several lives of Oliver, lord protector.

† Lives of Oliver, lord protector.

‡ Chronicles of Hall, Fabian, and Grafton, and Stow's survey of London.—They spell the name Murfyn, variously. Grafton, only, calls him sir Thomas; probably he was not knighted till after his election to the mayoralty, for Stow, in the year following, observes, that after that time it was usual to knight the lord mayor when elected. Fuller in his worthies, says, that sir Thomas was a native of Ely, and that his father was George Mirfine.

§ The pedigree.

PART I.
SECT. II.

Supposed
children of
sir Richard
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, knt.

Thomas
Cromwell,
esq.

anno 1572*, and a member of parlement for the borough of Bodmin, in the county of Devon, in the parlement held in the fourteenth, and for Grampound, in the county of Cornwall, the twenty-eighth and thirty-first of the reign of queen Elizabeth†.

He was the most leading member in the house, scarce any committee was without him, during the years 1572, 1575, 1580, 1584, and the five following ones; after which his name never occurs; often bills were wholly committed to him, and I think he is upon near an hundred committees, many of which are of the greatest consequence‡.

It is observable of this gentleman, that he made a motion, february 15, 1587, stating, that ‘as at their (the house of commons) petition, her majesty had done justice upon

* Mag. Brit. et Antiqua et Nova.

† Willis’ Not. Parlem.

‡ Journals of the house of commons, and sir Simon d’Ewes journals of queen Elizabeth’s parlements.

‘ the scotch queen, to the greater safety of
 ‘ her majesty’s person, and the whole realm,
 ‘ he thought it fit, her majesty might re-
 ‘ ceive from them their humble thanks;
 ‘ which motion was well liked, but at that
 ‘ time it proceeded no further *,’ ‘ because
 ‘ not decent in itself, or because it would
 ‘ have laid upon her majesty an imputation
 ‘ which she was taking pains to avoid †:’ it
 certainly was a bold speech.—These Crom-
 wells made little account of the blood of
 sovereigns.

PART I.
 SECT. II.

Supposed
 children of
 sir Richard
 Williams,
 alias Crom-
 well, &c.

Thomas
 Cromwell,
 esq.

Richard Cromwell, esq. who was Sheriff of
 Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire soon
 after the above mr. Thomas Cromwell †.

Richard
 Cromwell,
 esq.

Francis Cromwell, esq. who was one of
 the knights for the county of Huntingdon
 in the fifteenth year of the reign of the

Francis
 Cromwell,
 esq.

* Same author.

† Carte’s history of England.

‡ Mag. Brit.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Supposed
children of
sir Richard
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, knt.

same sovereign*; and sheriff for the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge in the twenty-ninth also of that queen, at which time he resided at Hinchinbrooke-house, and bore the same arms as sir Richard, his supposed father.

SECTION III.

Sir Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
father of the
protector
Oliver
Cromwell.

SIR Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, knt. eldest son and heir of sir Richard; this gentleman was highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth, who knighted him in 1563, being the sixth year of her reign†; and did him the honor of sleeping at his seat of Hinchinbrooke, august 18, upon her return from visiting the university of Cambridge‡.

He was in the house of commons in 1563, as one of the knights for the county of Hunt-

* Willis's not. parlem. It is probable that sir Richard Cromwell purchased a considerable estate in Cornwall.

† Sylvanus Morgan's sphere of gentry.

‡ Peck's desiderata curiosa.

ingdon;

CROMWELL FAMILY.

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ingdon*; he was four times, in queen Elizabeth's reign, sheriff of the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge, in the seventh, thirteenth, twenty-second, and thirty-fourth years†.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Sir Henry Cromwell, knt. grandfather of Oliver; lord protector.

Sir Henry was called from his liberality, the golden knight, the report at Ramsey is, that whenever he came from Hinchinbrooke to Ramsey, he threw considerable sums of money to the poor townsmen‡.

The feat at Ramsey (part of the old abbey) was repaired by him, as is evident from the initials of his name in iron being still upon the doors of that house.

Sir Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, lived to a good old age, he was buried at All Saints


* Journals of the house of commons.

† Fuller's worthies.

‡ Communicated by the Rev. — Weston, of Ramsey; a gentleman to whom I am under very great obligations.

church,

PART I.
SECT. III.


Sir Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
father of
Oliver, lord
protector.

church*, in Huntingdon, january 7, 1603;
he has this excellent character given him,
' he was a worthy gentleman, both in court
' and country, and universally esteemed†;'
and which he certainly deserved.

Lady Joan,
wife of sir
Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
mother to
Oliver, lord
protector.

Sir Henry's lady was Joan, daughter and
sole heiress of sir Ralph Warren, knight‡,

* It must be observed, that there is not the least monu-
mental inscription of the Cromwells in Huntingdon. The
reasons may be these:—This town was once very large,
but was depopulated by the plague. So late as the reign of
King Charles I. there were four churches in it, but in the
devastations, owing to the war in the latter part of that
monarch's life, this town was severely handled.—St. John's
church was entirely destroyed, and another church has only
the tower remaining; all the monuments and brass plates,
before that time, in the other two, were destroyed; so that
no information respecting the Cromwell family is to be col-
lected from monumental inscriptions in Huntingdon. The
outrages Huntingdon felt during the civil war her townsmen
say to the account of Cromwell, but they suffered much
more from the royal arms than they did from those of the
parlement, as both Whitlock, in his memorial, and the au-
thor of a cavalier relate.

† Banks and other lives of Oliver, protector.

‡ Pedigree and several lives of Oliver, lord protector.

who

who was alderman of London in 1528, and lord mayor in the years 1536, and 1543; he was by trade a mercer; in the first year of his mayoralty he received knighthood from king Henry VIII. he died july 16, 1552, 7 Edward VI. and was buried in St. Swyth's church in London, where a monument was erected to his memory*. Lady Cromwell's mother was Joan, daughter and coheirefs of John Trelake, alias Davy, of Cornwall†. She herself died a little before her husband sir Henry Cromwell, and was buried in the same parish as he was, december 12, 1584.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Lady Joan,
wife of sir
Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
mother to
Oliver, lord
protector.

There was a numerous progeny from this marriage, sir Oliver Cromwell had the bulk of sir Henry's fortune; to each of his other sons he left estates, then worth about three hundred pounds annually‡.

* Stow's survey of London, Grafton's chronicle, &c.

† Pedigree.

‡ Life of Oliver Cromwell, octavo, London, 1755, sixth edition, says, mr. Robert Cromwell, sir Henry Cromwell's second son, had an estate of about three hundred pounds per ann. so we may presume the other younger sons of sir Henry had estates of about that value.

Issue

PART I.
SECT. III.

Issue of sir Henry and lady Joan Cromwell.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
knt.

1. Sir Oliver Cromwell, of whom see in the next section.

Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
eldest son.

2. Robert Cromwell, father of Oliver, lord protector; vide part II. section I.

Robert
Cromwell,
esq. the
second son.

Henry
Cromwell,
esq. the
third son,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

3. Henry Cromwell, esq. he received his education at St. John's college, Oxford, of which he became a fellow; he took his bachelor of arts degree in that university, february 14, 1588*.

His father gave him a grant (dated july 8, 1584) of the manor of Upwood, in the county of Huntingdon, with several other lands, for five hundred years, which were afterwards released by mr. Henry Cromwell, son and heir of his eldest brother sir Oliver, in consideration of some sums of money he had lent that gentleman, his nephew †.

He resided at Upwood, where he was universally esteemed, and gained much ho-

* Wood's Fasti.

† Writings in the possession of sir Richard Bickerton, bart.
nour

nour by his upright conduct as a justice of peace*.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
grandfather
of Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

By his will he left Upwood and its dependencies to the above mr. Henry Cromwell, his nephew, he paying certain sums of money to his heirs†; and desired, in his will, to be buried in the chancel of Upwood church‡; where he was accordingly interred october 29, 1630: but no memorial whatever of him, or his family, are to be found in any part of that church.

* Wood's Fasti, &c.

† Upwood was purchased by sir Peter Phesant, judge of the *Upper Bench*, during the usurpation. After passing through various hands it is now the property of commodore sir Richard Bickerton, bart. who has much improved the seat, and his family now reside there: It would be unpardonable in me not to express the great obligations I lie under to sir Richard and lady Bickerton, for their politeness to me, and permitting me to examine the title deeds of the Upwood estate.

‡ Probate copy of mr. Henry Cromwell of Upwood's will, in possession of sir Richard Bickerton. By this will it appears, that this gentleman left to the poor of Upwood twenty pounds; to Great Ravely and Ramsey, five pounds each; to Warboys, three pounds; Berry, twenty shillings; All Hallows, in Huntingdon, four pounds; Boughton, forty shillings; and to Raby, twenty shillings.

This

PART I.
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
grandfather
of Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

This mr. Henry Cromwell married Margaret, a daughter of sir Thomas Wyan, knt*. of South-Wotton, in the county of Norfolk†; by whom he had two sons and two daughters, viz. 1. Richard, who died before his father, and was buried at Upwood, june 7, 1626; two of whose children were, Henry, baptized july 28, 1625, and was buried at Upwood, december 16, 1625; and Anna, baptized august 28, 1682; she survived her father and grandfather, the latter of whom left her by his will one thousand pounds. 2. Henry, who was baptized june 4, 1615, and died before his father. 3. Elizabeth,

* Pedigree.

† Miss Cromwell communicated this to me by letter. It appears by the pedigree that sir Thomas was not knighted when his daughter was married to mr. Cromwell.—Miss Cromwell in her letter, by mistake, calls him Thomas Wynde. Dr. Gibbons falsely gives this gentleman's daughter to mr. Henry Cromwell, son and heir of sir Oliver Cromwell.—At Upwood was a chimney-piece with a shield of arms, of mr. Henry and mrs. Margaret Cromwell, and what is singular, there were two naked figures, representing a man and a woman, crowned with laurel, with H. C. and M. C. under them; sir Richard Bickerton has removed the whole.

bap-

baptized december 12, 1616; she was the second wife of sir Oliver St. John, lord chief justice of the common pleas*; and, 4. Anna, baptized march 11, 1617: to these two daughters mr. Henry Cromwell bequeathed, by his will, two thousand pounds each, and to whom the probate was given, but they being under age, administration was given to their relation, mr. Valentine Wauton, during their minorities. Anna was, in 1638, at sir William Masham's, of Oates, in Essex, and to whom Oliver, afterwards protector, desires his love. She afterwards married John Neale, of Dean, in the county of Bedford, esq. who distinguished himself in the parliament cause against king Charles I. from whom are descended the family of Neale, at Allesley, in Warwickshire †.

PART I:
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
grandfather
of Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

4. Richard Cromwell, gentleman, fourth son of sir Henry Cromwell; he was a member for

* Vide the life of sir Oliver St. John, no. 2, amongst the persons and families allied to the protectorate-house of Cromwell. Vol. II.

† Vide family of Neale, no. 3, in the histories of persons and families allied to, or descended from the Cromwells by females. Vol. II.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Richard
Cromwell,
gent. fourth
son, uncle
to Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

the borough of Huntingdon in the thirty-ninth, and for Loffwithiel in the county of Cornwall, in the forty-third year of queen Elizabeth's reign*; is supposed to have died a batchelor; he was buried at Upwood, october 29, 1628; the estate that it is thought he resided upon near Upwood, is now the property of the Hangers†.

Sir Philip
Cromwell,
knt. uncle
to Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

5. Sir Philip Cromwell, knight, fifth son of sir Henry Cromwell, likewise received his education at St. John's college, in Oxford, and was admitted to his batchelor of laws degree, july 7, 1599‡.

He settled at Bigden house, about a mile from Ramsay; the estate, as I am informed, sets now for upwards of 2000l. per annum ||.

Sir Philip was with his brother, sir Oliver, when his majesty king James I. was there, at which time he received the honor of knight-

* Willis' not. parl.

† Communicated by the rev. — Weston.

‡ Wood's Fasti.

|| Communicated by the rev. mr. Weston.

hood*. He was buried at Ramsey, january 28, 1629.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
father of
Oliver, lord
protector.

He married Mary, a daughter of sir Henry Townsend, knight †; she was also buried at Ramsey, november 3, 1617.

The issue of this marriage was eight children, viz. five sons and three daughters, 1. Henry, who is called eldest son and heir of sir Philip Cromwell, in mr. Henry Cromwell, of Upwood's will. 2. Philip, who was born december 25, and baptized at Ramsey, january 7, 1608: he was a major in his cousin Ingoldestby's regiment of foot, in the parlement army, and was dangerously wounded, fighting valiantly in that service, on september 11, 1645, in the storming of Bristol, of which

* Stow's chronicle, &c.

† Lady Mary Cromwell was sister, I apprehend, to Heywood Townsend, who was a member of parlement, and made historical collections, being an exact account of the four last parlements of queen Elizabeth, which is a complete journal of both houses, taken from their original records. This gentleman died without issue before 1623.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
father of
Oliver, lord
protector.

he died very soon after*. 3. Thomas, baptized at Ramsey, january 4, 1609; he was a major in a regiment of horse in king Charles the first's army†; he married a daughter of sir Wolstan Dixie, knt. a loyal gentleman‡: and was himself in the service of that monarch, so early as the year 1630, for he signed his name after lord Valentia to the condemnation of lord Montmorris, at Dublin castle, december 12, in that year||: this gentleman resided at Daventry, which is three miles from Ramsey, and died there, as I have been informed§: the estate was afterwards the Wildbore's, by purchase¶. 4. Oliver, baptized at Ramsey, may 20, 1612; I have some reason to suppose he was a member of the long parlement**, it is

* Sprigge's *Anglia Rediva*, or England's recovery; and Wood's *Fasti*.

† Ibid.

‡ Kimber and Johnson's baronetage, &c.

|| Collin's peerage.

§ The register of Daventry is defective from the death of king Charles I. to the restoration.

¶ Communicated by the rev. mr. Weston.

** Journals of the house of commons.

certain

certain he had a commission in the parlement army, and was a major in 1648; he was dispatched in that year by colonel Hammond, with letters to the parlement, acquainting them, that he was detained at Windsor, and that colonel Ewers had the charge of the king's person in the isle of Wight*; and he was so serviceable to them, that the lords addressed the commons recommending him to their notice, as one, by his attendance upon the king's person and other services rendered them, was entitled to some reward; the commons accordingly referred it to the committee of the revenue†; he went as colonel under the command of his first cousin, Oliver, afterwards lord protector, into Ireland, in 1649‡, where he died in the same year; his executrix petitioned the house of commons, november 20, 1651, upon some occasion or other, which was referred to the committee of the army||. 5. Robert, baptized at Ramsay, june 29, 1613; this unhappy gentleman was, I presume, for

PART I.
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
knt. grand-
father of
Oliver, lord
protector.

* Whitlock's memorial. † Same,

‡ Wood's Fasti.

|| Journals of the house of commons.

PART I.
SECT. III.

Younger
children of
sir Henry
Cromwell,
1st grand-
father of
Oliver, lord
protector.

poisoning his master, a lawyer, tried, convicted, and executed*. 6. Ann, baptized march 15, 1610. 7. Elizabeth, baptized december 21, 1614. 8. Mary, baptized january 28, 1615, all at Ramsay: what became of these daughters I know not.

Ralph
Cromwell,
sixth son,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

6. Ralph Cromwell, sixth son of sir Henry Cromwell, was baptized at All Saints church, in Huntingdon, november 20, 1580, and was buried in the same parish, december 22, 1581.

* I give this fact upon the authority only of Heath's Flagellum, or life and death of Oliver Cromwell, a very scurrilous writer; he does not mention the christian name of sir Philip's son, he says it happened about thirty-seven years ago. This edition is 1672, but the first was in 1663; if he means to date this from the former, Robert Cromwell would be about twenty-two years of age; if from the other, he would be only thirteen years old: probably Heath might be mistaken in a year or two, as he says *about*.—I have been informed, that some of sir Philip Cromwell's descendants settled in the county of Wilts; it is the more probable as mr. Edmondson mentions a family there, who bore the same arms and crest as sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell did, before the augmentation of his crest.—There is a family of Cromwell at Bromsgröve, who came from Devizes, in that county; the grandfather of them was a schoolmaster, and their great grandfather, a clergyman. Their father hated his name, because of Oliver, the protector.

CROMWELL FAMILY.

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PART I.
SECT. III.

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Younger
childr. of fir
Hen. Crom-
well, knr.
grandf. of
Ol. lord prot.

Joan, wife of
fir Fra. Bar-
rington, brt.
eld. daught.
aunt to Ol.
lord protect.

Eliz. wife of
John Hamp-
den, esq. 2d.
d. aunt to Ol.
lord protect.

Frances,
wife of Rd.
Whalley,
esq. 3d. da.
aunt to Ol.
lord protect.

Mary, wife
of William
Dunch, esq.
4th d. aunt
to Oliver,
lord protect.

7. Joan Cromwell, eldest daughter of fir Henry Cromwell, became the wife of fir Francis Barrington, bart*.

8. Elizabeth Cromwell, second daughter of fir Henry Cromwell, was married to William Hampden, of Great-Hampden, esq. Bucks†.

9. Frances Cromwell, third daughter of fir Henry Cromwell, became the second wife of Richard Whalley, of Kerton, in the county of Nottingham, esq.‡.

10. Mary Cromwell, fourth daughter of fir Henry Cromwell, was married to fir William Dunch, of Little-Wittingham, in the county of Berks, knight§.

* Vide genealogy of the Barringtons, Maslams, and Everards, no. 4, 5, and 6, amongst the persons and families allied to the protectorate house of Cromwell. Vol. II.

† Vide genealogy or history of the Hampdens, no. 7, Knightleys, no. 8, Pyes, no. 9, Trevors, alias Hampdens, no. 10, and Hammonds and Hobarts, no. 11, amongst the persons and families allied to the protectorate house of Cromwell. Vol. II.

‡ Vide history of the Whalleys, no. 12, amongst the families, &c. Vol. II.

§ Vide history of the Dunches, no. 13, in the list, &c. Vol. II.

PART I.
SECT. III.

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Dorothy  
Cromwell,  
fifth daughter,  
aunt to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

11. Dorothy Cromwell, fifth and youngest daughter of sir Henry Cromwell, was baptized at All Saints church, in Huntingdon, december 3, 1682: what became of her I find not; probably she died young, or never married.

## SECTION IV.

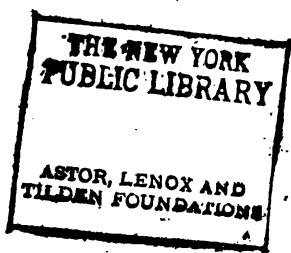
Sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

Sir Oliver Cromwell, eldest son and heir of sir Henry Cromwell, received the honour of knighthood from queen Elizabeth, in the year 1598\*, and in the fortieth year of the reign of that soveraign, he served the office of sheriff for the counties of Huntingdon and Cambridge†. He had the felicity to entertain two, if not three of the english monarchs; his gracious mistress queen Elizabeth, upon her majesty's leaving the university of Cambridge, to which she had been to pay a visit‡; king James I. several times||, and I think also  
king

\* Morgan's survey of gentry. † Fuller's worthies.

‡ Peck's desiderata curiosa.

|| King James I. visited sir Oliver Cromwell in 1603, and in the years 1616 and 1617, for Stow in his chronicle says,  
that



Q  
h  
to

ARMORIAL HOUSE.



N°1.



N°3.



king Charles I\*. But the most memorable visit was that given to him by king James I. upon his accession to the english throne; sir Oliver finding that his majesty in his journey from Edinburgh to London would pass through Huntingdon, determined to entertain him at Hinchinbrooke-House, a seat of his, adjacent to that town; and that he might do this with more elegance and ease, he hastily made such improvements in his house as he judged most proper, and at this time built that very elegant great bow window to the dining room, in which are two shields of arms of his and his father, painted in the glass, with many quarterings, and round on the outside is a prodigious number of shields, which, from the plate here given, a proper idea may be formed

PART I.  
SECT. IV.

Sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

that lord Hay (then with his majesty) was sworn a privy councillor at Hinchinbrooke-House; and Willis, in his history of the town and hundred of Buckingham says, sir Richard Ingoldby was knighted at the same place in 1617; it is most probable that these were not the only times king James was there.

\* I have great reason to suppose king Charles honored sir Oliver with one, if not more visits, in his going to, and in his return from the north, particularly when that king went to Scotland.

of;

PART I.  
SECT. IV.

~~~~~  
 Sir Oliver
 Cromwell,
 knight of
 the bath,
 uncle to
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

of; a more minute description of them and some other armorial bearings of the Williams, alias Cromwells, at Hinchinbrooke-House, is to be found elsewhere*.

His majesty did not disappoint our knight's wishes, but accepted his dutiful invitation; he came to Hinchinbrooke-House, april 27, 1603, the earl of Southampton carrying the sword of state before him; he here met with a more magnificent reception than he had ever done since his leaving his paternal kingdom, both for the plenty and variety of meats and wines; it is inconceivable with what pleasure the english received the king, all strove to please, every one to see the new sovereign, who was to unite two jarring and valiant kingdoms, and to be the common monarch of both. Sir Oliver gratified them to the full; his doors were thrown wide open to receive all that chose to pay their respects to the new king, or even to see him, and each individual was welcomed with the choicest viands, the most

* Vide letter E in the proofs and illustrations.

costly wines; even the populace had free access to the cellars, during the whole of his majesty's stay.

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight, of
the bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

Whilst the king was at Hinchinbrooke-House, he received the heads of the university of Cambridge in their robes, to congratulate him upon his accession to the english diadem, which they did in a long latin oration.

His majesty remained with sir Oliver till after he had breakfasted on the twenty-ninth of april; at his leaving Hinchinbrooke he was pleased to express the obligations he had received from him and his lady; to the former he said, at parting, as he passed through the court, in his broad scotch manner, 'morry mon, thou 'hast treated me better than any one since I 'left Edinburgh', and it is more than probable than ever that prince was treated before or after, for it is said, sir Oliver at this time gave 'the greatest feast that had been given to a king by a subject'. His loyalty and regard to his prince seems almost unbounded, for when his majesty left Hinchinbrooke, he was presented

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

sented by him with many things of great value; amongst others, ' a large elegant wrought
' standing cup of gold, goodly horses, deep
' mouthed hounds, divers hawks of excellent
' wing, and at the remove gave fifty pounds
' amongst the royal officers*.'

So many and great proofs of attachment, and that in a manner peculiarly agreeable to the taste of the prince, gained his regard, which he took an early opportunity of expressing, by creating him, with fifty-nine others, a knight of the bath, prior to his coronation; this ceremony of creating him a knight of the bath was performed on sunday, july the twenty-fourth following, upon which day he, with the other gentlemen designed for that honor, rode in state from St. James's to the court, and so with their esquires and pages about the tilt-yard, and from thence to St. James's park, where alighting from their horses, and going in a body to the presence gallery, they received their knighthood from his majesty†.

* Stowe's chronicle, and various other writers who have copied from him.

† Stowe's chronicle.

Sir Oliver was a very conspicuous member of the house of commons from the year 1604 to 1610, and also in 1614, 1623, and 1624, during which years he is oftener named upon committees than any other member*.

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

He is once or twice styled queen Ann's attorney in the journals of the house, but he did not hold this place long, probably not many months†; I think he succeeded sir Lawrence Tanfield in that office in or about the year 1604.

His name occurs once in a committee in the first parlement of king Charles I. in the year 1625‡, but what place he was returned for, either then or in the reign of king James I. I was never able to learn, but it is reasonable to suppose for his own county of Huntingdon.

Sir Oliver was not an idle spectator in the dreadful civil war which the tyranny of king Charles I. and the ambition of the popular leaders had involved this kingdom in; but re-

* Journals of the house of commons.

† Ibid.

‡ Ibid.

membering

PART. I.
SECT. IV.

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 Sir Oliver  
 Cromwell,  
 knight of  
 the bath,  
 uncle to  
 Oliver, lord  
 protector.

membering the many obligations he and his ancestors lay under to the crown, he determined to support the royal cause, for which purpose he not only (at a very heavy expence) raised men and gave large sums of money, but obliged his sons to take up arms and go into the regal army; and he was of greater use to his majesty than any person in that part of the kingdom, by which he rendered himself particularly obnoxious to the parlement: the celebrated Oliver Cromwell, his nephew and god-child, who, to hide his ambition, seemed to pay no distinction to any, on private accounts, paid his uncle sir Oliver a visit, I apprehend when at Hinchinbrooke, accompanied with a strong party of horse, where he endeavoured to unite the character of the dutiful nephew and god-child with that of the stern commander; for though, during the few hours he staid with him, he would not keep on his hat in his presence, and asked his blessing, yet did not leave the house till he had both disarmed the old gentleman, and seized all his plate for the public service\*.

\* Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, &c.

The great expences this attachment to an unfortunate party put him to, obliged him to dispose of his grand seat of Hinchinbrooke to sir Sidney Montague, the youngest of six sons of Edward lord Montague, of Boughton\*. What year this was in, I am not certain, but it must be prior to the king's being seized by cornet Joyce, as his majesty then called there with the parlement commissioners in his way to Holmby†, which was in 1646. After this he went to reside at Ramsey, where he continued till his death, and seems to have expended some money in repairs before, as well as after his going there.

PART I.  
SECT. IV.

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Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

Some time after he was here, his nephew, Cromwell, paid him another visit; for as sir

* Sir Sidney Montague, knight, was master of the requests to king Charles I. and father of Edward Montague, an able admiral, general, and statesman, who for his services in effecting the restoration, was created earl of Sandwich, and knight of the garter; he was blown up in the Royal James, may 28, 1672, fighting gallantly against the Dutch: he was ancestor to the present earl, to whom Hinchinbrooke gives the title of viscount.

† King Charles I. was very magnificently and dutifully entertained at Hinchinbrooke by lady Montague, which greatly displeased the brutal Joyce.

Oliver

PART I.
SECT. IV.

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 Sir Oliver  
 Cromwell,  
 knight of  
 the bath,  
 uncle to  
 Oliver, lord  
 protector.

Oliver still continued to support the drooping party he had espoused, the lieutenant-general insisted upon his sending a sum of money as a fine, or he would burn down the town, the greatest part of which was sir Oliver's; our knight sent for answer, that he could not raise that sum, and desired his nephew to give him a conference in the town; accordingly the nephew came, they met upon the high bridge; a composition was agreed upon, which was, that sir Oliver should give him forty saddle horses to mount his cavalry upon; it is said, that whilst the two Olivers were sitting upon the bridge, an old woman, who thought the younger a faint of no small magnitude, brought him a cushion to sit upon, but he refused it, saying, that he should be unworthy the name of soldier, was he to indulge himself so far as to use it\*.

Nothing was able to shake sir Oliver's loyalty; he supported the royal party to the last, for which, like many others, he was sentenced to

\* Communicated to me by the late rev. mr. Weston, of Ramsey.

have all his estates, both real and personal, sequestered, but they were saved through the interposition, and for the sake of his nephew, Oliver, then lieutenant-general; and the parliament, april 17, 1648, took off the sequestration, in which he is styled sir Oliver Cromwell, of Ramsey-Moore, in the county of Huntingdon, knight of the bath\*.

PART I.  
SECT. IV.

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Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

During the whole of the usurpation, as well by the commonwealth as under the government of his relation, Oliver, he followed the example of the grandee loyalists, in courting privacy and retirement; and it is pretty singular, that the colours which he and his sons took from the parlement forces, continued displayed in Ramsey church during the whole of the grand rebellion, and remained there till within these fifty years†. This fortitude in not courting the favor of the protector is the more observable and praise-worthy, as from the repeated losses he had sustained from his loyalty, his numerous family, and want of oeconomy

* Journals of the house of commons.

† Communicated by the late rev. mr. Weston.

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

in both himself and his sons, the evening of his life was rendered very disagreeable upon pecuniary accounts, he dying oppressed with a load of debts.

His death happened, august 28, 1655, in the ninety-third year of his age; he was buried the same night (it is reported, to prevent his body's being seized by his creditors) in the church of Ramsey; but there is no memorial of him or his family, nor does there seem ever to have been any in that church; but upon sounding I discovered, that there is a vault just entering into the chancel, where the Cromwells are said to have been buried.

Fuller gives this character of sir Oliver, as one of the worthies of Huntingdon, and says, that he is remarkable to posterity on a four-fold account: 'first, for his *hospitality* and *prodigious* ' *entertainment* of king James and his court: 'secondly, for his upright dealings in *bargain* 'and *sale* with all chapmen, so that no man, 'whosoever purchased land of him, was put 'to charge of *three-pence* to make good his 'title;

CROMWELL FAMILY.

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PART I.
SECT. IV.

Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

‘*title*; yet he sold excellent pennyworths, in-
‘*so*much, that sir *John Leaman* (once lord-
‘*mayor* of *London*) who bought the fair ma-
‘*nor* of *Warboise*, in this county, of him,
‘*affirmed*, *that it was the cheapest land that*
‘*ever be bought*, and yet the dearest *that ever*
‘*sir Oliver Cromwell sold*: thirdly, for his
‘*loyalty*, always beholding the usurpation and
‘*tyranny* of his *nephew*, *god-son*, and NAME-
‘*SAKE*, with *hatred* and contempt: lastly,
‘*for his vivacity*, who survived to be the oldest
‘*knight* who was a gentleman; seeing sir *George*
‘*Dalston*, younger in years (yet still alive)
‘*was knighted* some days before him*.’

Sir Oliver married twice; first, Elizabeth,
daughter of sir Henry Bromley, lord chan-
cellor of England†, upon whom was settled,
Ramsey and Warboise, Hinchinbrooke, Hig-
ney,

Wives of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

* Fuller’s worthies, in which, by mistake, he places
sir Oliver’s death in 1654.

† Sir Thomas Bromley died chancellor of England 29th
Elizabeth; he married Elizabeth daughter of sir Adrian
Fortescue, knight of the Bath, by whom he had four
daughters; 1. married to Charles Corbet, of Stoke, in
the county of Salop, esq. 2. to John Littleton, of Frank-

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Wives of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

ney, Broughton, alias Broueton, and Little Raveley; after her death he married, in july, 1601, Ann, widow of seignior Horatio Palavicini, a noble Genoese*, at Baberham, in the county of Cambridge, the place of her late husband's residence; upon this lady he settled the manors of Ramsey, Heigmongrove, Bury, Upwood, and Wistow-Meers, except the rectories in each of them, and the parishes called the old and new parishes, and the lands lying in those parishes, viz. Ramsey, and the Chase, and ground called Wychwood†; this lady died at

ley, in the county of Worcester, esq. ancestor of the two late lord Littletons, and the present lord Westcote; this affinity to the Cromwell family is the reason assigned for a copy of the protector's portrait, by Jarvis, being hung in the gallery at lord Westcote's elegant seat at Hagley: 3, to John Greville, of Milcote, in Warwickshire, and the fourth to this sir Oliver Cromwell.—Vide some account of the Bromley family, no. 14, vol. II. in the histories of several persons and families allied by females to, or descended from the Cromwells.

* Vide no. 15, vol. II. in the histories of several persons and families allied to, or descended from the Cromwells by females, where some account of sir Horatio Palavicini and his family is given.

† There is a deed of settlement in the possession of sir Richard Bickerton, dated may 10, 1607, made between

at Hinchinbrooke-House, and was buried at St. John's church, in Huntingdon, april 26, 1626.

By lady Ann, sir Oliver had no child, but by the first, several.

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Wives of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

*Children of sir Oliver and lady Elizabeth
Cromwell.*

1. Henry Cromwell, of whom in the next section.

Younger
children of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

2. John Cromwell, baptized in St. John's church, in Huntingdon, may 24, 1589; this gentleman was early in the army; in 1624 he went over as a captain in the first regiment of

sir Oliver Williams, alias Cromwell, of Hynch, in the county of Huntingdon, of the first part; the right honourable earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain of his majesty's most honourable household, and of the most noble order of the garter, knight, and sir Henry Maynard, knight, of the second part; and Henry Williams, alias Cromwell, son and heir apparent of the said sir Oliver and Batino his wife, of the third part; which settles the above lands upon her; and as it is made so long after marriage, was occasioned, we may suppose, by sir Oliver's disposing of some estates formerly settled upon her.

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SECT. IV.

Younger
children of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

foot, in the forces sent over by king James I. for the recovery of the Palatinate*: after this he was a colonel of an english regiment in the service of the United States: happening to be in England whilst his sovereign king Charles I. was a prisoner to the parlement army, and hearing his relation Oliver (afterwards lord protector) say, 'I think the king the most injured prince in the world,' and putting his hand to his sword, continued, 'but this shall right him,' supposed that his zeal was real, and therefore expressed himself satisfied that it was impossible for him to go those lengths which many others wished to go.

For these reasons, when that unfortunate misguided monarch was (after a pretended trial) condemned to die; and the prince of Wales and the prince of Orange, taking vast pains to save him, or at least to stay the execution, sent over such relations of the leading men in the army, as they thought could influence them, applied to this gentleman,

* Rushworth's collections.

he very readily undertook the task with the greatest expectation of succeeding in so desirable a business; wherefore taking credential letters from the States, with letters with the king's and prince of Wales's signet, and both confirmed by the States, offering Oliver his own terms, in case he would prevent the fatal sentence from being carried into execution, he hastened to England.

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SECT. IV.

Younger
children of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

He found his cousin Oliver, the lieutenant-general, at home: it was with difficulty he gained admittance, as he kept his chamber, and ordered himself to be denied.

Upon his introduction to Oliver, after the usual complements between relations, he began to mention the horrid crime intended to be committed, and after a very free harangue upon its atrocity, the indelible stain it would be to the nation, and in what a light it was beheld upon the continent, added, 'that of all men living, he thought he would never have had any hand in it, who in his hearing had protested so much to the king;' Oliver replied,

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children of
sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

‘ it was not him, but the army; and though he
‘ did once say some such words, yet now times
‘ were altered, and providence seemed to order
‘ things otherwise,’ adding, ‘ that he had
‘ prayed and fasted for the king, but no return
‘ that way was yet made to him.’

Upon which the colonel stepped a little
back, and hastily shut the door, which made
Oliver suppose he was going to be assassinated;
but the other taking out his papers, said to
him, ‘ cousin, this is no time to trifle with
‘ words; see here, it is now in your own power
‘ not only to make yourself, but your family,
‘ relations, and posterity, happy and honorable
‘ for ever; otherwise, as they have changed
‘ their name before from Williams to Crom-
‘ well, so now they must be forced to change
‘ it again, for this fact will bring such an ig-
‘ nominy upon the whole generation of them,
‘ that no time will be able to deface.’—After
a pause, Oliver said, ‘ cousin, I desire you will
‘ give me till night to consider of it, and do
‘ you go to your own inn, and not to bed, till
‘ you hear from me.’

The

The colonel retired, and at one o'clock in the morning he received a message, that ' he might go to rest, and expect no other answer ' to carry to the prince ; for the council of officers had been seeking God, as he had also done, and it was resolved by them all that ' the king must die * . '

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Younger children of sir Oliver Cromwell, knight of the Bath, uncle to Oliver, lord protector.

With this unhappy message he returned into Holland again, where he continued in that service for many years, perhaps during the remainder of his life †. It is observable, that though he spoke with such freedom to his relation, Oliver, and looked upon his conduct as in the highest degree criminal, yet he did not neglect to apply to him in 1650, to expedite

* Flagellum, and other lives of Oliver, lord protector.

† By a letter, dated november $\frac{18}{28}$, 1653, from Jongestall to William earl of Nassau, it appears that colonel John Cromwell was then in Holland ; and by one from William Row to the lord general Cromwell, dated december 28, 1650, I find that sir Henry Vane, who also had a regiment, was in hopes that if colonel Cromwell died he should succeed him, not only in his regiment, but in an higher command. Thurloc's state papers, and those in the possession of Milton, published by Nickolls.

the

PART I.
SECT. IV.

Younger
children of
Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
uncle to
Oliver, lord
protector.

the long depending cause between himself and Abigail his abandoned wife*, through whose ill behaviour he was, from the most affluent circumstances, reduced to the brink of ruin†. The issue of this marriage was a daughter, named Joan, baptized september 28, 1634, at Upwood, and perhaps other children‡.

4. William Cromwell, fourth son of Sir Oliver Cromwell, was likewise bred to the sword;

* This cause between colonel Cromwell and his wife was depending at least from 1646; for october 30, in that year, the house of commons ordered, that the cause between colonel John Cromwell and Abigail his wife, and John Smith, esq. and John Aucock, gent. and the petition of the said John Smith and John Aucock, which was then reported, and the whole business depending, be deferred to the hearing and determination of the court of chancery. Journals of the house of commons.

† Vide letter from colonel John Cromwell to the lord general, given in the proofs and illustrations, letter E.

‡ Probably Mrs. Abigail Cromwell was upon a visit to her husband's uncle, Mr. Henry Cromwell, of Upwood, when she was brought to bed of this child; as he was a good man, and fond of all his relations. It is the more likely as in taking up the floor of one of the rooms in Upwood-House, a small book was found with I. C. in gold letters, upon the outside; which no doubt belonged to this lady's husband.

he was, as early as the year 1627, in the army, for he and his brother John are both called captains in his uncle, Henry Cromwell, of Upwood's will; he was a loyal gentleman, and adhered to his royal master in the civil wars; and when that unhappy monarch was put to death, and the government lodged in a commonwealth, he was so far from entirely giving up his principles, that he carried on a correspondence with lord Craven, who dared to be the friend of majesty in the worst of times*; and though one of his letters was intercepted †, yet his cousin Oliver, the general (afterwards protector) passed over the offence, and procured him to be employed in an expedition to Denmark, which was of so secret a nature, that he himself says, it was not for pen to discover.

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SECT. IV.

Younger children of
sir Oliver Cromwell,
knight of the Bath,
uncle to Oliver, lord
protector.

It was attended with very unhappy consequences, and was near being fatal to him; for

* Lord Craven was a voluntary exile, for the cause of his sovereign king Charles II. and had the honour to be the patron of the unfortunate queen of Bohemia (king James the first's daughter) and her family.

† The letter from mr. William Cromwell to lord Craven is dated from London, june 24, 1653.

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SECT. IV.

Younger
children of
Sir Oliver
Cromwell,
knight of
the Bath,
nephew to
Oliver, lord
proteCTOR.

as he was proceeding to Hamburgh, that he might send a dispatch to England, he was cast away under Norway, and as he endeavoured to escape by leaping into a boat, he broke his arm, and bruised his head so much, that it threw him into a dangerous fever; and having lost both his money and cloaths, and his servant drowned, he was left in a very distressed condition, which was rendered still worse by his being unable to procure assistance, as he durst not discover his real name, he then passing by the fictitious one of monsieur Jacques Laffon.

In this dilemma he addressed himself to Bradshaw, the parlement's ambassador, in a letter dated from Copenhagen, september 9, 1653, requesting him to provide him all things necessary, it being impossible to leave that place, as he was in debt, not only to his landlord, but to his phyfician and furgeon, and desired that he might have a further supply of money, to answer the future occasions of his secret embassy, and have an attendant allowed him in room of the servant that was drowned; he tells
Bradshaw,

Bradshaw, that his continuing there longer was dangerous, as he was fearful of a discovery, from the many british gentlemen of all parties, and promised, that when he was properly enabled by a supply, and his health would permit, he would pursue his journey to Hamburgh: for what purpose this secret expedition was taken, is difficult, if not impossible to discover*.

PART I.
SECT. IV.

~~~~~  
Younger  
children of  
sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the Bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

It was so little known that he favored the protector, Oliver, that soon after he assumed the protectorate, it was wondered by many, that he was not included in the proclamation, published in november, 1655, commanding all persons who had been in arms for king Charles II. to depart from London, and the lines of communication.

He endeavoured to carry himself so as to gain both the favor of the protector and the cavaliers; but the former soon discovered his real sentiments, and neither believed nor

\* Letter from mr. William Cromwell to mr. Richard Bradshaw, resident at Hamburgh, for the parlement; given in Thurloe's state papers.

trusted

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SECT. IV.

Younger  
children of  
Sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the Bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

trusted him; to the royalists he declared, that he would leave his debts, which amounted to two or three thousand pounds in London, to the protector's score; and to effectually shew them the reality of his zeal for his majesty's service, he engaged in a design then carrying on to assassinate his relation and sovereign, and was to have been a principal in that base attempt\*; —an attempt contrary to every sentiment of honor and gratitude.

From the lenity of the protector (who was certainly a kind friend to all his relations) he escaped with his life, and even from prosecution; however, as he was then much in debt, his fortunes were now ruined, and he saw himself a wretched dependent.

It is singular, that after this gentleman should have engaged in a plot to assassinate the protector, Fleetwood, Oliver's son-in-law, should write in his behalf to Henry Cromwell, the lord-deputy of Ireland: 'I have had,' says he, 'a desire to improve a little moneys for

\* Thurloe's state papers.

'poore Cromwell, and which, I understand, by sir Jerome Zanke, you have been pleased to have a favorable regard unto such an intention\*.' It might not seem to Fleetwood so heinous a crime to assassinate one who had taken the sovereign power from the commonwealth, though the person was his father-in-law, but that he should think so favorably of one who was secretly a royalist, and endeavoured to destroy the protector, to place in his stead the exiled king, is strange; but it is still more so, that Henry, who bore a great tenderness for his parent, should wish to do a kindness for the person who was suspected of a design to have destroyed him. There is no accounting for this, but by supposing, that he possessed both Fleetwood and Henry with an opinion, that he was intirely innocent; perhaps he likewise persuaded the protector, Oliver, of his innocency, for, in january, 1657-8, he granted a pass to John Smith, esq. and mr. John Browne, procured by one John Symonds;

PART I.  
SECT. IV.

Younger children of sir Oliver Cromwell, knight of the Bath, uncle to Oliver, lord protector.

\* Letter from Fleetwood to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy, dated june 18, 1658; given in Thurloe's state papers.

PART I.  
SECT. IV.

Younger  
children of  
sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the Bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

it is observable, that these gentlemen were suspected cavaliers, who intended to leave the kingdom, and go to Holland, but their pass not being allowed, they, with Henry-Wilson Howard, esq. were taken up, but, I believe, soon after released; however that be, had not he somewhat regained the protector's favor, he durst not have dared to have given a pass to any one.

He survived the restoration, and then probably pleaded to his majesty the merits of this baseness, for he seems, after that event, to have retained a commission in the army.

His death was singular, and attended with fatal consequences to Ramsey; he died of the plague, at nine o'clock in the morning of february 22, 1665, at that place, and was buried at nine o'clock the next evening, in the church there: he caught the infection by wearing a coat, the cloth of which came from London\*;

\* Mr. Henry Cromwell, of Upwood, left captain William Cromwell, and his brothers, colonel John, with Henry, eldest son and heir of sir Philip Cromwell, 1000l. to be divided amongst them, in case of the death of his granddaughter Anna, before she came of age.

the taylor that made the coat, with all his family, died of the same terrible disorder, as did no less than four hundred people in Ramsay, as appears by the register, and all owing to this fatal coat.

PART I.  
SECT IV.

Younger  
children of  
sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the Bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

These four sons of sir Oliver Cromwell are particularly mentioned in the pedigree; there are two more children of that gentleman, who are only called ——— Cromwell, and ——— Cromwell, from which circumstances we may presume they were sons; I suppose they were\*.

5. Oliver Cromwell, who went into Italy for his education, probably through his father's connexion with the Palavicini, who were Genoese; he was a student at Padua, in 1618; in the piazza of that university is his coat of arms painted; he there remained two years, and did not return to England until the year 1625†; more of his history is not known.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
e.g. fifth son.

## 6. Ed-

\* Rev. mr. Weston likewise was of opinion, that sir Oliver Cromwell had two sons, named Oliver and Edward.

† Papadopoli supposes this Oliver Cromwell to have been him who was afterwards protector. Vide sir James Barrow's few anecdotes and observations relating to Oliver Cromwell and his family; serving to rectify several errors

PART II.  
SECT. IV.

Younger  
children of  
sir Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knight of  
the Bath,  
uncle to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

Edward  
Cromwell,  
a counsellor,  
sixth son.

Elizabeth  
Cromwell,  
eldest  
daughter.

Catharine  
Cromwell,  
second  
daughter,  
married to  
sir Richard  
Ingoldby.

6. Edward, as the rev. mr. Weston informed me: this gentleman's christian name is known not only from the tradition of Ramsey, that sir Oliver had a son so called, but from a ring, which was some years ago found under a walnut tree, near that place, and supposed to have belonged to him; the legend upon it was, 'E. Cromwell servantissimi equi.' It is thought he was bred to the bar.

7. Elizabeth Cromwell, eldest daughter of sir Oliver Cromwell.

8. Catharine Cromwell, second daughter of sir Oliver Cromwell, was baptized may 15, 1594, at St. John's church in Huntingdon; she was married to sir Richard Ingoldby, of Lenthenborough, in the county of Bucks, knight\*.

concerning him, published by Nicolaus Commenus. Papadopoli in his *Historia Gymnasii Patavina*.

\* All these daughters are mentioned in the pedigree, but none of their marriages.—Here I quit this pedigree, but several additional ones have been tacked to it, which shall be taken proper notice of as occasion offers.—Vide history of the Ingoldbys, no. 16, vol. II. amongst the persons and families allied, &c. to the Cromwells.

## CROMWELL FAMILY.

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9. Jane Cromwell, third daughter of sir Oliver Cromwell.

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SECT. V.

Younger children of sir Oliver Cromwell, knight of the Bath, uncle to Oliver, lord protector.

10. Joan Cromwell, fourth daughter of sir Oliver Cromwell.

Jane Cromwell, third daughter.

11. Anna, or Hannah Cromwell, fifth daughter of sir Oliver Cromwell; she was married to John Baldwin, gentleman, at Ramsey, september 11, 1627; from this marriage, descended, it is believed, sir Baldwin Conyers, of Great Stoughton, in the county of Huntingdon, which estate was once possessed, I think, by the Cromwells; it is now in the possession of lord Ludlow.

Joan Cromwell, fourth daughter.

Anna, or Hannah Cromwell, fifth daughter, married to Mr. Baldwin.

## SECTION V.

HENRY Cromwell, esq. eldest son and heir of sir Oliver Cromwell, knight, was born august 25, 1586, and baptized the 28th of the same month, at St. John's church, in Huntingdon; he received his christian name in honor of the founder of the riches of their family, it being the custom (almost without

Henry Cromwell, esq. eldest son of sir Oliver Cromwell, and first cousin to Oliver, lord protector.

PART I.  
SECT. V.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
esq. eldest  
son of sir  
Oliver  
Cromwell,  
and first  
cousin to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

variation) to give the eldest son the name of Henry; this accounts for the great number of Cromwells of this first name.

He was a very active man for the royal party, which occasioned his estates to be sequestered; to prevent the consequences of which, he presented a petition to the parlement, july 9, 1649, intituled, 'the humble petition of Henry Cromwell, esq.' which being read, the house resolved, that 'at the request of the lord lieutenant of Ireland' (Oliver Cromwell, afterwards lord protector) 'and out of the favor of this house, the fine due, and imposed for the delinquency of the said mr. Henry Cromwell, be, and is hereby remitted and discharged; and the sequestration be discharged and taken off, and the rents arrear in the tenants hands be paid to him accordingly\*.'

From

\* Journals of the house of commons. This is a convincing proof that the author of the Mag. Brit. is mistaken in saying, that sir Oliver Cromwell would not accept his pardon from his nephew; for at the time he and his son stood in want of one, he had it not in his power to give it, but he exerted his interest to procure them

From this time he seems to have lived very privately till his death; but, what with the losses he sustained for his loyalty in supporting a ruined monarch, together with his family misfortune—want of frugality, he was much troubled by his creditors; and when he asked his father, sir Oliver, to discharge his debts, the latter replied—what are they? upon which the son delivered him a schedule of them; the father, instead of any answer, writ under them, ‘God send they be all paid\*.’ It appears that the protector, Oliver, courted his friendship, and forgot that he had been a cavalier; for he appointed him one of the assessors for the county of Huntingdon, by an act passed in the beginning of 1657 †.

PART I.  
SECT. V.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
esq. eldest  
son of sir  
Oliver  
Cromwell,  
and first  
cousin to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

them one; and it is more than probable that he was applied to by them for that purpose: be it as it would, it was a merit in him to do it: when Oliver was sovereign they did not disturb his government, though they were far from approving it; so they therefore then did not stand in want of a pardon.

\* Communicated by lady Bickerton, whose knowledge in history is very great.

† Acts passed in Oliver's protectorate; printed by Field.

PART I.  
SECT. V.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
esq. eldest  
son of sir  
Oliver  
Cromwell,  
and first  
cousin to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

His wives.  
Baptina, his  
first.

He died september 18, 1657, and was buried in the chancel of Ramsey church the day following, perhaps for the same reason as his father was said to be.

Mr. Henry Cromwell was thrice married; his first wife was Baptina, or Battina, daughter of sir Horatio Palavicini, knight\*, whose widow, sir Oliver, his father, married; she was buried at the church of St. John, in Huntingdon, april 10, 1618.

Mary, his  
second.

Of the family of the second wife of mr. Henry Cromwell, I am ignorant; but her christian name was Mary, and she was buried at Ramsey, january 12, 1629.

Elizabeth,  
his third.

His last wife was lady Elizabeth Ferrers, whom he married at Ramsey, may 4, 1642: she probably was the widow of a gentleman, who was knighted and descended from the family of that name, seated at Tamworth castle; this is the more probable, because of the frequent inter-marriages between the Hamp-

\* Pedigree.

## CROMWELL FAMILY.

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dens and the Ferrers; and as the former were allied to the Cromwells, it is reasonable to think, they might introduce the Cromwells to the Ferrers, which might lead to this marriage between the widow of a lady of the Ferrers family, with this mr. Cromwell\*.

PART I.  
SECT. V.

Elizabeth,  
third wife  
of Henry  
Cromwell,  
esq. eldest  
son of sir  
Oliver  
Cromwell,  
knt. and first  
cousin to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

This lady was buried at the foot of the cross, in Ramsey church-yard, september 2, 1658. There was no child from this marriage.

*Issue of mr. Henry Cromwell, and mrs. Baptina Cromwell.*

Children of  
his.

1. Battynne, i. e. Baptina, baptized july 28, 1616, at All Saints church, in Huntingdon, where she was buried, june 7, 1618.

Baptina  
Cromwell,  
only child  
of the first  
marriage.

\* Inscription upon the monument of sir Henry Ferrers, in Baddesley church, as well as in several of the great number of shields of arms, painted in the windows of Baddesley-House, the ancient seat of this more ancient and honorable family; and now possessed by my worthy friend Edward Ferrers, esq. to whom, and his family, I am happy in having an opportunity thus publicly to express the great obligations I owe them.

PART I.  
SECT. V.*Children of mr. Henry Cromwell, by Mary  
his wife.*

Children of  
Hen. Crom-  
well esq. eld.  
son of fir  
Oliv. Crom-  
well, uncle  
to Oliver,  
lord protect.

James  
Cromwell,  
eldest son of  
the second  
marriage.

An. Crom-  
well, eldest  
daughter.

Karina, sec.  
daughter.

Pembroke  
Cromwell,  
second son.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
esq. third,  
but eldest  
surviving  
son and heir.

Elizabeth  
Cromwell,  
third  
daughter.

Mary Crom-  
well, fourth  
daughter.

Mary Crom-  
well, fifth  
daughter.

2. James, born may 25, and baptized june 7, 1620, at the same church as Baptina was; he died young.

3. Anna, baptized at Upwood, april 22, 1621.

4. Karina, baptized september 5, 1622, at Ramsey.

5. Pembroke, born november 20, 1623, and baptized december 3, following, at Ramsey; he died when young.

6. Henry, of whom in the next section, as surviving son and heir of his father.

7. Elizabeth, baptized at Ramsey, november 11, 1627.

8. Mary, baptized september 12, 1627; she died an infant.

9. Mary, baptized september 25, 1628\*.

## SECTION

\* These children are not any of them mentioned in any pedigree I have seen, but there is no doubt but they

## S E C T I O N VI,

HENRY, only surviving son of mr. Henry Cromwell, took up again the ancient name of Williams, dropping that of Cromwell, the cause of which the reader will soon be informed.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, a knight of the royal oak, first cousin, one remove to Oliver, lord protector.

This gentleman was baptized at Ramsey, june 22, 1625; he succeeded to the remains of the family estate at Ramsey.

After his relation Oliver had seized upon the government, either swayed by motives of

are the children of mr. Henry Cromwell, by his two former wives, if we may judge from the registers, and the intelligent where these registers are kept: the dates of their births exactly correspond with each other; for Baptina was born in 1616; her mother died in 1618: in 1620 (two years after) James was born, which is allowing an year between the death of his first, and the marriage with his second wife; and from 1620 to 1628, inclusive, he had a child each year, except in 1624; and in 1629 he lost his second wife; so that considering the omission of the christian name of the mother of the children, the wretched manner in which the registers are kept, the numerousness of the family of Cromwell, in Huntingdonshire, and the many that had the name of Henry, it could not be better ascertained.

interest,

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Will-  
iams, knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
remove to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

interest, or won by affection and the obligation the protector had laid upon himself, as well as his father and grandfather, he did not scruple to profess himself a contented subject, and an affectionate and obliged kinsman.

In the parlement, held in 1656—7, he rendered himself very conspicuous, as we are informed by mr. Vincent Goskin, in the postscript of a letter of his, given in Thurloe's state papers; I shall give it in that gentleman's own words: 'Hary Cromwell rising in the house next after major generall Butler had spoke, who was a little too hot, I thinke, tooke the major generall to taske; and after he had spoken to answer him, began to argue the case: amongst others had this argument, that hee observed many gentlemen, and hee that spoke last, did say and thinke it just, that because some of the cavaliers had done amisse, therefore all should be punished\*: by the same argument (says honest Hary) because some of the major generalls have

\* The republicans wished to have an act passed to decimate the royalists in the estates that were left them.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Willi-  
ams, knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
remove to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

‘ done amisse, which I offer to prove, therefore  
‘ all of them deserve to be punished; Kelsy  
‘ thereupon calls to the orders of the house,  
‘ and desires the persons, that had done amisse,  
‘ should be named. Up starts Hary, and  
‘ begs the house to give him leave to name  
‘ them, and offered to prove unwarrantable  
‘ actions done by them; but this fire was put  
‘ out by the grave water carriers. After this  
‘ Hary Cromwell is threatened by the major-  
‘ generall’s party, that his highness would and  
‘ did take it ill. Hary goes last night to his  
‘ highness, and stands to what he had sayd  
‘ manfully and wisely; and to make it appeare  
‘ he spake not without booke, had his black  
‘ booke and papers ready to make good what  
‘ hee said. His highness answered him in  
‘ rallery, and tooke a rich scarlet cloake from  
‘ his backe and gloves from his hands, and  
‘ gave them to Hary, who strutted with his  
‘ new cloake and gloves in the house this  
‘ day\*, to the great satisfaction and delight  
‘ of some, and trouble of others. It was a

\* The letter is dated from Westminster, January  
27. 1656.

‘ pretty

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Willi-  
ams, knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
remove to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

' pretty passage of his highness; pray consider  
' of it.'

This was a bold adventure of his to at-  
tack a body of men that the whole nation  
stood in awe of, and which might have been  
resented by the protector, who appointed  
them; their power became at length dreaded  
even by Oliver, who, in the latter end of this  
year abolished them.

He was also in his cousin, the protector  
Richard's, parlement, in 1659\*, and in the  
convention one in 1660; at which time he  
was one of the commissioners to swear in the  
members†; and in which he gave his hearty  
vote for the restoration of the royal family, in

\* It appears that the protector Richard had a great  
esteem for him, for admiral Montague, afterwards earl of  
Sandwich, in a letter to secretary Thurloe, dated january  
1, 1658, says, that he shall not interest himself in the  
election, ' unless mr. Cromwell be in hazard; and in  
' that case he would be active that he received no affront;  
had he not been a relation of Richard's, and beloved by  
him, Montague would not have troubled himself in the  
matter.

† Vide journals of the house of commons.

whose

## CROMWELL FAMILY.

17

whose cause himself, his father, and grandfather, had suffered so much.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Williams, knight  
of the royal oak, first  
cousin, one remove to  
Oliver, lord protector.

As he knew the name of Cromwell would not be very grateful in the court of king Charles II. he refused it, and styled himself only plain Henry Williams, esq. by which name he was set down in the list of such persons as were to be made knights of the royal oak, a new order instituted in commemoration of king Charles the second's having been saved after the battle of Worcester, in a tree of that kind, at Boscobel, in Staffordshire\*; and a medal allusive thereto was actually engraved by Symons†; none were to be admitted to this honour but those who had eminently distinguished themselves by their loyalty; his estate in Collins' baronetage is estimated at 2000l. per annum, and he is represented as residing at Bodsey-House, in the county of Huntingdon.

\* Vide a list of the intended knights in Collins' baronetage.

† Vertue's engravings of Symons' works, and Snelling's proof pattern pieces, and I think Evelyn's numismata.

In

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Willi-  
ams, knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
removed to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

In a deed that I have seen (to which he is a party) he is distinguished by the title of sir Henry\*, but as this species of knights was soon abolished (it being wisely judged that the order was calculated only to keep alive animosities, which it was the part of wisdom to lull to sleep) he, as well as the rest of the knights of the royal oak, lost every distinction upon that account; for which reason he resumed the style of plain Henry Williams, esq. except when mentioned in law writings, and then he retained the name of Cromwell, with an alias, as his ancestors did; it may be remarked here that he bore his coat of arms without any variation, that being strictly speaking, not the Cromwells' but the Williams' proper armorial bearing†.

\* Amongst the title deeds of Upwood.

† That mr. Henry Cromwell constantly retained the same coat of arms as his family always bore, is obvious from his seal to deeds;—indeed he could use no other.—Blome, in his *Britannia*, calls him Henry Williams, in the county of Huntingdon, esq. and has engraved his arms; this book came out in the same year as mr. Williams died.

It is said, that upon a dispute in the royal presence, who had the greatest interest in the county of Huntingdon; some said the earl of Manchester, others this gentleman: his majesty, who enjoyed mischief, informed the latter of the altercation, adding, now is a proper time to determine it, as an election for a member of the county will soon take place; Mr. Cromwell, who exceedingly prided himself upon the interest of his family in that part of the kingdom, accepted the challenge with pleasure; but, upon the close of the poll, he found his antagonists (I think his lordship's brother, and Robert Apreece, of Walsingham, esquire) had obtained a majority, which so strongly affected him, that he fell from his chair, and soon after expired\*.

This happened at Huntingdon, august 3, 1673; his body was removed to Ramsey, and there interred the 6th of the same month.

I have nowhere seen the family name of this gentleman's wife, her christian one was,

\* Communicated by the rev. Mr. Weston.

Ann;

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SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Williams,  
knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
removed to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Willi-  
ams, knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
remove to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

Ann; she was usually styled dame Williams; she survived her husband, and resided upon a very trifling pittance, charged upon the estates at Ramsey; she was buried there, january 10, 1687\*.

Thus the Cromwells, the most opulent family in Huntingdonshire, after a gradual decline, totally expired, and their great estates fell into various other hands: Ramsey, the richest, into those of the celebrated colonel Titus†, by

\* Dame Williams, or mrs. Cromwell, alias Williams, was called; lived in a house near the town of Ramsey; which, with a large piece of land, was reserved to her; the latter still retains the name of dame Williams' close.

† Col. Titus is rendered memorable from being the supposed writer of the pamphlet 'Killing no murder,' the dedication to which, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, esq. tyrant of England, is a master-piece\*; he was the buffoon of Charles the second's court, by which he prevailed more than others with the greatest wisdom; lord Clarendon's banishment was owing to this fooling; he was a leading member for the bill to exclude James duke of York, afterwards king James II. he said, in the house of commons,

\* It is said, colonel Edward Sexby, who died a prisoner in the Tower, acknowledged himself the writer of it.

that

by purchase, from mr. Henry Cromwell, alias Williams; what this monastery was, may be guessed by the value of such appendages as were held by the Cromwells; which would now set for, perhaps, upwards of eighty thousand pounds per annum; but the estates had been so lessened, that this mr. Cromwell, alias Williams, had only two thousand pounds per annum, and perhaps he left but a small portion of its value to his heirs; and not only the estates in Huntingdon and Cambridge, which the Cromwells possessed, but also those in the county of Essex were alienated by them; these latter were likewise to a very considerable

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, knight of the royal oak, first cousin, and remove to Oliver, lord protector,

‘ that expedients to secure the protestant religion, when  
‘ such a person was suffered to mount the throne, was  
‘ as strange as if there was a lion in the lobby, and they  
‘ should vote that they would rather secure themselves by  
‘ letting him in and chaining him, than by keeping him  
‘ out:’ he represented the borough and county of Huntingdon in several parlements, he resided at Ramsey in the summer, and Bushy-Park in the winter; his free and cheerful humour made his company eagerly sought.—Col. Titus left Ramsey to his three daughters and co-heiresses; the survivor of them, mrs. Catharine Titus, left the manor of Ramsey, with an estate of about two thousand pounds per ann. to two of her servants, a man and woman; the former, whose name was Smith, sold Ramsey abbey to Coulson Fellows, esq. whose eldest son and heir, William Fellows, esq. now enjoys it.

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Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias Willi-  
ams, knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
remove to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

amount, and which came to them as heirs of the Warrens, their maternal ancestors\*.

Sir Henry Spelman, sir William Dugdale, and sir Simon Digge, would have pronounced

\* William Warren, of Fering, in Essex, left a son, who was sheriff of London in 1528, and father of sir Richard Warren, lord mayor of that city in 1536, and died july 11, 1553; he had two wives, Christian and Joan, by one of them he left Richard, his son and heir, aged eleven; and Joan, wife of sir Henry Cromwell, of Hinchinbrooke, knt. Richard, the son, died march 25, 1597, leaving no issue by his wife Elizabeth, daughter of sir Rowland Haward, knt. this lady married again, to sir Thomas Knevet, knt. created baron of Escrick. Sir Oliver Cromwell, knight of the bath, eldest son of sir Henry Cromwell, as nearest of kin to this last Richard Warren, succeeded to the manors of Low-Leyton, Newhall, or Blackholes, Great-Easton, Newport-Pond, and Claybury, all in the county of Essex. Sir Oliver Cromwell, by licence, dated december 4, 1599, alienated Leyton, with twenty-four messuages, twenty gardens, twenty orchards, two hundred acres of arable, two hundred and sixty of meadow, two hundred and forty of pasture, forty of wood, three hundred of heath and furze, to Edward Rider, ancestor of sir William Rider, lord mayor of London in 1600, who left it to his two daughters and co-heirs. Newhall or Blackholes, with Great-Easton, sir Oliver sold, april 20, 1598, to Henry, afterwards sir Henry Maynard; Newhall was held of the king and queen, as of their hundred of Denfey, in free socage, by fealty and yearly rent of four-pence. Great-Easton was sold by the same knight, in 1597, by licence, dated september 2, with the appur-

the total loss of all the patrimonial estate of the family of Cromwell a judgment from God, as it had once been the possessions of the church; and the late rev. mr. Weston\* actually did.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, knight of the royal oak, first cousin, one remove to Oliver, lord protector.

appurtenances and thirty messuages, twenty tofts, two mills, three dove houses, thirty gardens, thirty orchards, four hundred acres of arable, twenty of meadow, four hundred of pasture, three hundred of wood, sixty shillings rent, assize common of pasture, free warren and fishery, view of frank pledge, and advowson of the church, to Henry Maynard, esq. whose descendants still enjoy it, all held by the serjeancy of being king's sarder and purveyor of his kitchen on the coronation day. Newport, with the hamlet of Bilchanger was purchased of sir Oliver, by Theophilus earl of Suffolk, before the year 1635; the hospital of St. Leonard, in the hamlet of Bilchanger, likewise belonged to this estate; it was granted by king Henry VIII. to sir Martin Bowes, who sold it, by licence, october 1, 1545, to sir R. Warren. — Morant's history of Essex.

The great value of these estates in Essex, may be judged of by seeing the valuable *parcels* of several of them: as Low-Leyton, and some other parts of them were dissolved religious houses; those who deal in judgments would not wonder that the male line of the Warrens failed, and that the Cromwells, descended from females, should squander them.

\* The late rev. mr. Weston wrote an essay in the Oxford magazine, to prove that the owners of lands which had been once appropriated to the church, never prospered. This gave great offence to many families in Huntingdonshire.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry  
Cromwell,  
alias William,  
knight  
of the royal  
oak, first  
cousin, one  
removed to  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

It is a dangerous thing to meddle with judgments, they will carry a man wheresoever he pleases: it would have been less excuseable, if these gentlemen had confined their judgments to those persons and their descendants only who procured the grants by improper means\*: but they include not only them, but all who received grants of religious possessions, as well as their families: not content to do this, they extend their judgments to all laymen and their offspring, who may become, by purchase or otherwise, possessed of them,

No doubt monasteries and other foundations, dissolved by king Henry VIII. might have been much better employed than they were, in augmenting such church livings as cannot maintain a clergyman with decency; or appropriated to some other charitable institution, such as free schools, or hospitals; or

\* It appears by Dugdale's antiquities of Warwickshire, that sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knight, was one of the visitors of the religious houses, appointed by king Henry VIII. but I have no where seen any intimation of his abusing the trust reposed in him.

if none of these were approved of, they should have reverted to the descendants of such pious persons who had been the founders or benefactors to the religious houses; or applied to the use of the state.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Henry Cromwell, alias Williams, knight of the royal oak, first cousin, one remove to Oliver; lord protector.

But to pass over these surmises, certain it is, that the Cromwells have not now a presentation to a single benefice, nor an acre of all that land they once possessed belonging to the church.

Before I quit this last section of part I. I think it will be but proper to give such persons of the name of Cromwell as I imagine are descended from Morgan Williams, father of sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, but from what particular branch it is impossible to know, without further helps than I have met with;—perhaps some curious gentleman, into whose hands a copy of this work may fall, may discover the descent of at least some of them.

Cromwells who are supposed to be descended from Morgan Williams, father of sir Rich: Williams, alias Cromwell, kn.

The first I shall give is only mentioned by Fuller, who, in his quaint way, thus expresses

Thomas Cromwell, esq.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

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Cromwells
who are sup-
posed to be
descended
from Mor-
gan Willi-
ams, father
of sir Rich.
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, kn.

his queries about a Thomas Cromwell, esq. who was sheriff of 'Cambridgeshire, 28 Henry 'VIII.' of whom he says, 'Thomas Cromwell, 'Ar. Here reader I am at a perfect *loss*, and 'do desire thy charitable *band* to lead me. No 'Thomas Cromwell can I find at this time in 'this county, and can hardly suspect him to 'be the *Cromwell* of that age, because only 'additioned Armiger. Indeed I find him this 'year created Baron of Okeham, but cannot 'suppose him unknighthed so long; besides 'the improbability that he would condescend 'to such an office, having no interest I ever 'met with in *Cambridgeshire*, though (which 'may signify somewhat) he was at that time 'chancellor of the *university* of Cambridge. 'Thus I have started the *doubt*, which others 'may *bunt* down to their own satisfaction.' It is difficult to say who this Thomas Cromwell was,—from Dugdale's *Origines Judicialia* it appears, that Thomas Cromwell, afterwards the vicar-general, had only the addition of armiger, when the mastership of the rolls was given, though he was knighted some time before. If sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, had a brother,

brother, of the name of Thomas, it might be him; for it appears by the pedigree, that Walter, one of his brothers, took the name of Cromwell, and I see no reason why we may not suppose there were other brothers, for it is only a slight pedigree; and if there were more sons of Mr. Morgan Williams, by the vicar general's sister, I think it highly probable, that as one was named Walter from the vicar general's father, another might be called Thomas, after himself.

PART I.
SECT. VI.

Cromwells
who are sup-
posed to be
descended
from Mor-
gan Will-
iams, father
of Sir Rich-
ard Williams,
alias Crom-
well, Esq.

Be this Thomas Cromwell who he would, he certainly was allied to Sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, and that very nearly; but it is as sure that he was not, as the writer of the life of Oliver the protector, in the *Biographia Britannica*, ridiculously supposes, the father of Sir Richard, which must be very obvious to the reader.

Lady Susan Cromwell, buried July 11, 1581, in All Saints parish, in Huntingdon. I apprehend there was an Henry Cromwell knighted besides Sir Richard's son.

Lady Susan
Cromwell.

PART I.
SECT. VI.

Hugo Playett Cromwell, buried at Upwood,
december 30, 1595.

Cromwells
who are sup-
posed to be
descended
from Mor-
gan Willi-
ams, father
of Sir Rich-
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, kn.
Hugo
Playett
Cromwell.

Ellen Cromwell, buried at Huntingdon,
april 13, 1599*.

Catharine Cromwell, married to Henry Pa-
lavicini, april 10, 1606, at All Saint's church,
in Huntingdon.

Ellen, Ca-
tharine, and
Jane Crom-
well.

Jane Cromwell, married to Tobias Palavi-
cini†, at the same time and place: probably
she and Catharine were sisters.

Joan Crom-
well.

Joan Cromwell, daughter of mr. Oliver
Cromwell, buried february 13, 1600, at All
Saints church, in Huntingdon.

Mistis Oliver Cromwell, of Godmanches-
ter; she died july 27, and was buried at All
Saints, in Huntingdon, august 17, 1600‡.

Richard

* Vide appendix, letter G.

† Henry and Tobias were sons of Sir Horatio Palavi-
cini, kn.

‡ I examined the registers of Godmanchester, which is
adjoining to the town of Huntingdon, but there was none
of

Richard Cromwell, son of mr. Henry Cromwell, was buried november 18, 1601, at All Saints parish in Huntingdon.

Mr. Henry Cromwell, an officer, buried at All Saints, in Huntingdon, december 24, 1601.

Mrs. *Eluzai* Cromwell, wife of mr. Henry Cromwell, of Upwood, buried at Upwood, january 27, 1619.

John Jones Cromwell, fourth son of the above Henry and Elizabeth Cromwell, buried at Upwood, march 13, 1619.

Mrs. Jane Cromwell, married to mr. William Baker, resided, it is supposed, at Bury, near Ramsey; the Bakers were then a very considerable family, but they were afterwards reduced, and there are not any now remaining.

Mr. Henry Cromwell, of Upwood; son of sir Henry left his aunt, mrs. Ellen Sadler,

of the name of Cromwell mentioned in them; there were many of the name of Cranwell, but they are quite a distinct family.

PART I.
SECT. VI.

Cromwells
who are sup-
posed to be
descended
from Mor-
gan Willi-
ams, father
of sir Rich-
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, knr.
Mrs. Eluzai
Cromwell.

John-Jones
Cromwell.

Mrs. Jane
Cromwell,
wife to mr.
William
Baker.

Mrs. Ellen
Sadler.

PART I.
SECT. VI.

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Cromwells  
who are sup-  
posed to be  
descended  
from Mor-  
gan Willi-  
ams, father  
of sir Rich.  
Williams,  
alias Crom-  
well, knt.  
Robert  
Cromwell.

twenty pounds: whether her maiden name was Cromwell or not I cannot determine; she might be aunt to his wife, or his mother's sister.

Robert Cromwell, who was a juryman upon the trial of mr. Daniel Axtell, one who was immediately concerned in the death of king Charles I. and challenged by him: this mr. Cromwell must have been a Londoner\*.

Mr. Crom-  
well.

Mr. Cromwell, who was ejected, in 1663, from Magdalen college, Cambridge, because he would not comply with episcopacy†.

Mrs. Mar-  
garet Crom-  
well.

Mrs. Margaret Cromwell, who paid her respects to king James II. (after his abdication) at St. Germain's, for which she became liable to a prosecution, but saved herself by taking out a warrant, as enjoined by government in 1690, to prevent those who had been so imprudent, from suffering the punishment the laws would otherwise inflict‡.

\* Trials of the regicides.

† History of England during the reign of the Stuarts.

‡ Secret history of Europe.

Mr.

Mr. Henry Cromwell, the correspondent and friend of the celebrated poet Pope; miss Cromwell acknowledges, in a letter to me, that he was a relation to the family, but cannot trace his pedigree—probably he descended from sir Philip Cromwell.

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

Cromwells who are supposed to be descended from Morgan Williams, father of sir Rich. Williams, alias Cromwell, knr. Mr. Henry Cromwell.

Mr. Henry Cromwell, who (as I am informed) kept a silk mercer's shop upon Ludgate-hill, in London, about thirty years ago, at which time he was unmarried\*.

Mr. Oliver-Benjamin-James Cromwell, a gentleman of independent fortune, who resided in many different parts of the kingdom, particularly at Quarn, in the county of Leicester, and Barnledon, in that of York: he married Mary, sister of John Woodhouse, M. D. by whom he had issue three sons and one daughter; 1. John, who was a married man, but left no child. 2. William, married a daughter of mr. Clay, an attorney, at Leicester, but

Mr. Oliver-Benjamin-James Cromwell.

\* Communicated by mr. Cromwell, of Bromsgrove, who also informed me, that he remembered a young man, a stone mason, at Cambridge of the name of Cromwell.

had

PART I.  
SECT. VI.

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Cromwells
who are sup-
posed to be
descended
from Mor-
gan Willi-
ams, father
of sir Rich.
Williams,
alias Crom-
well, kno.

had no issue; this William was brought up a mercer, but declined business, and resided at Lichfield, on account of his mother's relations; he bequeathed to his nephew, the rev. John-Chapel Woodhouse (son and heir of the doctor) rector or vicar of Denington, in the county of Salop, the whole of his property: he is buried in the middle isle of the cathedral church of Lichfield; to whose memory is this inscription, upon a grave stone laid over him: 'William Cromwell, Gent. late of this city, died July 24th, 1766, in the 68th year of his Age.' Mrs. Ann Woodhouse*, the doctor's sister, has heard mr. Cromwell say, that his grandfather and the protector, Oliver, were cousins. 3. Benjamin, was a surgeon and apothecary at Nottingham, and died unmarried. 4. Sarah, or Mary, was married to mr.

* Mrs. Ann Woodhouse is still living, and resides at Lichfield, from whom the above particulars of mr. Oliver-Benjamin-James Cromwell and his family were communicated to me, through my very good friend, the curious mr. Greene of that city. Mrs. Woodhouse says, that mr. Oliver-Benjamin-James Cromwell affected to latinize his name.

CROMWELL FAMILY.

93

Dakin, an attorney, of Mansfield, in the county of Nottingham, but left no issue.

There was a person of the name of William Cromwell, at Warwick, but of what family I am ignorant,

PART I.
SECT. VI.

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Cromwells  
who are sup-  
posed to be  
descended  
from Mor-  
gan Willi-  
ams, father  
of Sir Rich.  
Williams,  
alias Crom-  
well, kn.

PART

## P A R T II.

## S E C T I O N I.

PART II.  
SECT. I.

Robert  
Cromwell,  
esq. father  
of Oliver;  
lord protec-  
tor.

**H**AVING taken all the descendants I could discover of sir Richard Cromwell, except those of Robert, the second son of sir Henry Cromwell, I now proceed to give the history of that gentleman, and that of his descendants; omitting to take any notice of him till now, as he was head of that branch of the family which from his son Oliver (afterwards protector) became so famous in these kingdoms.

Robert Cromwell, esq. second son of sir Henry Cromwell, knt. had, by the will of his father, an estate in and near the town of Huntingdon, consisting chiefly, if not wholly, of possessions formerly belonging to some of the dissolved religious foundations, amounting to about three hundred pounds a year\*.

\* The estate of mr. Robert Cromwell was then in open fields, but is now inclosed; so that there is no ascertaining where it lay, its quantum, nor present value.

He

He chiefly resided at Huntingdon, in a house which was either part of the old hospital of St. John's, or was built upon the site and out of its ruins\*.

PART II.  
SECT. I.

Robert  
Cromwell,  
esq. father  
of Oliver,  
lord protec-  
tor.

Mr. Cromwell, though a gentleman of good sense, and of competent learning, was so fond of a private life, that he never, it is supposed, wished for any employment in the state; a commission of peace for the borough of Huntingdon, procured him by his brother, sir Oliver Cromwell, was sufficient to satisfy his ambition; as the name of Cromwell, with that of Turpin, is upon one of the pillars of a church in Huntingdon, as sheriffs of that place in 1600, it is most reasonable to suppose it was he who served the office at that time.—He was named a commissioner, in 1605, for draining the fens in the coun-

\* The above is the report at Huntingdon; the house Mr. Robert Cromwell resided in was certainly of stone, and belonged to some of the religious houses; Tanner does not say that sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, had a grant of the monastery of St. John's, but if he had not, he or his son, sir Henry Cromwell, might purchase it.

PART II.  
SECT. I.

ties of Northampton, Lincoln, Huntingdon,  
and Cambridge\*.

Robert  
Cromwell,  
esq. father  
of Oliver,  
lord protec-  
tor.

A life like his cannot be expected to furnish much matter for a biographer; the philosopher, however, would scarce let pass such an opportunity in reflecting upon the strange contrariety of men's minds, and those too of the nearest affinity: what character can be more opposite to this gentleman's than that of his son's?

From the happy and serene pleasures of a domestic life this good citizen was prematurely taken, to the great grief of a beloved wife and several children; the latter were just at an age to know their loss: his remains were deposited at St. John's, in Huntingdon, june 24, 1617.

Mrs. Elizabeth  
Cromwell, mother  
to Oliver,  
lord protec-  
tor.

Mr. Cromwell married Elizabeth, daughter of sir Richard Steward, Stewart, or Stuart, of

\* Dugdale's history of the fenns. Sir Henry Cromwell was also a commissioner, 20th of Elizabeth, as was sir Oliver in 1605.

Ely,

## CROMWELL FAMILY.

59

Ely, kn<sup>t</sup>. descended from, though very remotely, from the royal house of Scotland\*.

Both Mr. Cromwell and his wife were persons of great worth, and no way inclined to disaffection, either in their civil or religious principles; but remarkable for living upon a small fortune with decency, and maintaining a large family by their frugal circumspection.

PART III.  
SECT. I.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of Oliver, lord protector.

To ease the expences incident to a numerous progeny, and so much felt where the fortune is small, and the descent ancient, Mr. Cromwell carried on a large brewing business, but which was chiefly conducted by servants, whose accounts were entirely inspected by Mrs. Cromwell herself†.

She was a careful, prudent mother, and brought up her family, after Mr. Cromwell's decease, in a very handsome, frugal manner, chiefly from the profits arising from the brew-

\* Vide some account of the Sarwatt family, no. 174. vol. II. in the histories of several persons and families allied to, or descended from the protectorate house of Cromwell, by females.

† Flagellum.

PART II.  
SECT. I.

~~~~~  
Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of Oliver, lord protector.

house, which she still continued to carry on upon her own account, and by that means gave each of her daughters a fortune sufficient to marry them to persons of genteel families.

Her greatest fondness was lavished away upon her only son, who she ever partially loved; and to her he was every way deserving of it, he behaving always in the most filial and tender manner to her; and upon his exalting himself to sovereign greatness, he gave her apartments in the palace at Whitehall, where she continued till her death*, which happened november 18, 1654†.

As it was with reluctance she partook of the pageantry of sovereignty, so she continued undazzled with its splendor; and the regard she had for Oliver rendered her constantly wretched, from the apprehension she had of his danger: she was discontented if she did not see him twice a day, and never heard the report of a gun, but she exclaimed ‘ my son is shot†.’

* Ludlow's memoirs.

† Heath's chronicle.

‡ Ludlow's memoirs.

Though

Though so averse to Oliver's protectorate, she seldom troubled him with advice; when she did, he always heard her with great attention, but acted as he judged proper; and with respect to her funeral, entirely opposite to it; she requesting, when dying, to have a private one, and that her body might not be deposited in Westminster abbey; instead of fulfilling this request, the protector conveyed her remains with great solemnity, and attended with many hundred torches, though it was day-light, and interred them in the dormitory of our english monarchs, in a manner suitable to those of the mother of a personage of his then rank; 'the needless ceremonies and great expences 'which the protector put the public too' in burying her gave great offence to the republicans*.

PART II.
SECT. I.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of Oliver, lord protector.

At the restoration her body was taken up, and indecently thrown (with others) into an hole made before the back door of the lodg-

* Ludlow's memoirs.

PART II.
SECT. I.

~~~~~  
 Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of Oliver, lord protector.

ings belonging to one of the canons or prebendaries in St. Margaret's church-yard\*.

Mrs. Cromwell was an amiable person, and much beloved by her relations; as also those of her husband, particularly sir Oliver Cromwell; my lord Clarendon calls her, I think, 'a decent woman.'

The settlement she had upon her marriage was about sixty pounds a year, the smallness of which afforded ample matter of lampoon to the cavaliers, as well as republicans; it is hoped, say the former, that now our enormous taxes will be eased, as the protector's highness, by the death of his mother, is freed

\* Neal's history of the puritans, and Wood's Fasti: the former says, the bodies were taken up by warrant from the king to the dean of Westminster; but adds he, 'the work was so inelegant, and drew such a general odium on the government, that a stop was put to any further proceedings.' It appears from Wood, that admiral Bopham's was the only body that was given to his family; his monument was permitted to remain, with the epitaph inverted.

from

from her dowry, which amounted to the prodigious sum of sixty pounds annually.

PART II.  
SECT. I.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of Oliver, lord protector.

There is a portrait of mrs. Cromwell at Hinchinbrooke-House, which shews a likeness of Oliver's best pictures; the lower part of her face is handsome, it represents her in the middle age of life; of a melancholy countenance, her eyes look weak, perhaps for want of eye-lashes, her nose rather long, her mouth small, but full; what little of her hair is seen is a light brown, bordering upon flaxen; she is painted in a white satin hood, fastened tight under her chin; no more of her neck is seen than just enough to shew a string of pearls round it; her handkerchief (only the broad lace of which is seen) is tyed with a black string, by which it is drawn round the neck; over this is a green satin or velvet cardinal, edged with a gold lace, and fastened at the bottom by a clasp of jewelry; her left arm is through the cardinal, and her hand is spread to keep down the other side of it. This picture, I believe, has never been engraved, but the

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SECT. I.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, mother of Oliver, lord protector.

Younger children of Robert Cromwell, father of Oliver, lord protector.

housekeeper at Hinchinbrooke-House told lord Sandwich that she lent it to a gentleman of Cambridge, who wanted a drawing from it.

The issue of mr. Robert and mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell was three sons and six daughters.

1. Henry Cromwell, who was baptized august 31, 1595\*; probably he died at a very early age, but when and where he was buried is not known.

2. Oliver Cromwell, who became lord protector, vide his life in the next section.

3. Robert, who was baptized january 13, 1608, and buried april 4, 1609.

4. Elizabeth, who was baptized october 14, 1593.

5. Catharine, who was baptized february 7, 1596.

\* All the children of mr. Robert Cromwell (except his youngest daughter) were baptized at St. John's church in Huntingdon, and his son Robert was buried there.

One

One of these ladies became the wife of a mr. Jewster, but which, or who that gentleman was, is unknown\*.

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SECT. I.

Younger  
children of  
Robert  
Cromwell,  
esq. father of  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

6. Margaret, who was baptized february 25, 1600; she was married to a Valentine Wauton, esq. of Stourton, in the county of Huntingdon, and one of king Charles the first's judges†.

7. Anna, who was born january 2, 1602, and was baptized the sixteenth of the same month; she was married to mr. John Desborough, who afterwards was one of the generals of the parlement fleet, and one of Oliver the protector's lords‡: probably this lady died

\* Dr. Gibbons' additions annexed to the pedigree belonging to the miss Cromwells do not mention mrs. Jewster's christian name, but call her the third daughter, which is evidently a mistake: it gives only Robina, which is placed as eldest, mrs. Jones as second, and this mrs. Jewster as third daughter.

† Vide the life of mr. Wauton, no. 18, vol. II. in the histories of several persons and families allied to, or descended from the protectorate house of Cromwell, by females.

‡ Vide the life of John Desborough, esq. and William Lochart, esq. no. 19, and no. 20, vol. II. in the histories of several persons and families, &c.

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children of  
Robert  
Cromwell,  
esq. father of  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

about the year 1656; as in the beginning of that, and at the latter end of the preceding year, she was very ill\*.

8. Jane, who was baptized january 19, 1605-6; she was married twice, first to Roger Whetstone, esq. an officer in the parlement army, who dying †, she married a second time, to colonel John Jones, who sat as one of the king's judges, which cost him his life ‡.

9. Robina, who also had two husbands; the first was doctor Peter French, canon of Christ's

\* Major-general Desborough, in a letter to Thurloe, dated from Sarum, december 10, 1655, says, ' Pray be his highness's remembrancer in visiting my wife; in another to the same, dated january 19, 1655-6, he desires to return to his poor wife; and in that to the same gentleman dated Truroc, january 28, in the same year, he requests ' permission of his highness to come to London, ' when he had gone back again through the countries, ' and settled all his affairs; were not my poore wife very ' ill I should not desire to come up, for I think I am as ' well here as there, though I have enough to do.'

† Vide some account of the Whetstones, no. 21, vol. II. in the histories of several persons and families, &c.

‡ Vide life of colonel Jones, no. 22, vol. II. as above.

church,

church, Oxford\*, upon whose decease she married to doctor Wilkins, afterwards lord bishop of Chester, whom she survived†: by the former she had only a daughter, who was married to archbishop Tillotson; by the latter she had no issue: doctor Wilkins, it is said, left her not more than eight or nine hundred pounds; probably she had some pension issuing out of some ecclesiastical preferments, which occasioned Wood, in his Fasti, to say thus, 'she hung upon, and was maintained by the revenues of the church to her last.' This was owing to the little attention his lordship paid to pecuniary matters, even when his own family was so nearly concerned.

\* Vide some particulars of doctor Peter French, and of the family of doctor Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, his son-in-law, no. 23, vol. II, in the histories of several persons and families, &c.

† Vide short sketch of doctor Wilkins' life, no. 24, vol. II. as above.

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Younger  
children of  
Robert  
Cromwell,  
esq. father of  
Oliver, lord  
protector.

## SECTION

## S E C T I O N II.

**PART II.  
SECT. II.**

**Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protec-  
tor.**

FROM what has been offered we must credit Milton, when he says, that the protector Oliver 'was descended of an house noble and 'illustrious;' and the author of the unparalleled monarch, that he 'was well born, and 'of a noble and ancient extract;' but we must also acquiesce in what is said by father Orleans, that 'though he was well enough born not to 'be contemptible,' yet 'not so well as to be 'suspected of aspiring to sovereignty.'

Therefore those who pretend that Oliver was of a mean family, have done it either from want of better information, or, what is worse, with an intention (through party prejudice) to misguide.

We may then believe that great man himself, when he says, ' I was by birth a gentleman ;' it will not be improper to examine how far we may trust to his veracity in what follows, ' neither living in any considerable height, nor yet in

‘ obscurity, I have been called to several employments in the nation, and to serve in parlements, and I did endeavour to discharge the duties of an honest man in those services\*.’

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Cromwell,  
lord protector.

Historians and biographers have given ample relations of all his actions after his becoming eminent as a soldier; these memoirs will therefore be confined only until he had signalized himself as a commander, before which time little is known of him, and that rendered vague and uncertain, from the contradiction of the relators.

It has been absurdly supposed that this very extraordinary person's life was spent in a perfect inactivity, or, what is worse, debauchery; until the time that men begin to form thoughts of retiring from the busy scenes of life, and spending the remainder of their days in ease and privacy; when his genius broke out with such radiance as in the end extinguished even majesty itself.

\* Oliver's speech to his parlement, september 12, 1654.

Oliver,

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protec-  
tor.

Oliver, the only surviving son of mr. Robert Cromwell, of Huntingdon, was born in St. John's parish in that town\*, april 25, 1599, and was christened at the same church the twenty-ninth of the same month; he received his baptismal name from his uncle and godfather, sir Oliver Cromwell.

His father was extremely careful of his education, and when very young put him under

\* The house in which the protector Oliver was born has been long since taken down, except his birth-chamber, and the room under it. Mr. Edward Audley, a draper, of Huntingdon, and brother to the chancellor of York, who was the owner of the house some years ago, left it with the estate belonging to it, worth about 100l. per ann. to such charitable uses as his trustees should think most beneficial to the public; who, as if to reflect upon Cromwell, for his severity to the clergy of the church of England, incorporated it for the benefit of clergymen's widows and orphans. The rev. mr. Trollop now resides in it; his daughter, miss Trollop, obligingly shewed me the whole house, which affords nothing worthy notice, except its being Cromwell's birth place, and some portraits; mr. Hollis mentions, a three quarters painting of Oliver on the right side of the chimney-piece in the hall, and of major Harrison opposite to it, and a head of Cook, upon the stairs. I remember seeing the first, but not the others; probably they were not pointed out to me, and if not, I should have passed Cook, as not knowing his features.

the

the tuition of the rev. mr. Long, of Huntingdon\*, but soon removed him to the care of doctor Beard, master of the free grammar school in that place, who was a very learned and sensible person†; what proficiency Oliver made under this gentleman is very uncertain, some say very great, others scarce any; perhaps a medium is nearest truth‡.

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protector.

He is generally represented at this age as of an aspiring, stubborn, obstinate temper, by which he incurred the correction of his father, who was severe with him, and the flagellation of doctor Beard, who exceeded, on that account, the discipline usual to young gentlemen of his birth and expectations||.

His enemies also paint him, at this time, as the terror of the neighbourhood, by his de-

\* Biographia Britannica, article, Oliver Cromwell.

† Lives of Oliver, lord protector.

‡ There seems most truth in what Heath says in his Flagellum, that ' Oliver, when at school, had fits of learning, now a hard student for a week or two, and then a truant, or otiose, for twice as many months; of no settled constancy.

|| Flagellum.

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predations upon orchards and dove houses, and which they magnified into the greatest of crimes, but it only shews what thousand of other sprightly boys are, a disposition prone to playfulness and mischief\*.

There are several circumstances given relating to Oliver, which have been supposed prognostications of his future greatness; they have a tradition at Huntingdon, that when king Charles I. (then duke of York) in his journey from Scotland to London, in 1604, called in his way at Hinchinbrooke-House, the seat of sir Oliver Cromwell; that knight, to divert the young prince, sent for his nephew Oliver, that he, with his own sons, might play with his royal highness; but they had not been long together before Charles and Oliver disagreed, and as the former was then as weakly as the latter was strong, it was no wonder that the royal visitant was worsted; and Oliver, even at this age, so little regarded dignity, that he made the royal blood flow in

\* Dugdale's short view of the civil wars in England, and Heath's Flagellum; the latter swells these puerile faults to the greatest crimes.

copious streams from the prince's nose: this was looked upon as bad presage for that king when the civil wars commenced: I give this only as the report of the place; this far is certain, that Hinchinbrooke-House, as being near Huntingdon, was generally one of the resting-places when any of the royal family were going to, or returning from the north of England, or into, or from Scotland.

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SECT. II

~~~~~  
Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protector.

It is more certain that Oliver averred, that he saw a gigantic figure, which came and opened the curtains of his bed, and told him that he should be the greatest person in the kingdom, but did not mention the word king, and though he was told of the folly as well as wickedness of such an assertion, he persisted in it; for which he was flogged by doctor Beard, at the particular desire of his father; notwithstanding which, he would sometimes repeat it to his uncle Stewart, who told him it was traitorous to relate it*.

Whilst

* Some pretend the vision was seen by Oliver when he was walking, the Flagellum gives it as a dream; Cromwell mentioned

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SECT. II

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protector.

Whilst he was at the free grammar-school at Huntingdon, according to annual custom, a play was acted; the comedy of *Lingua* was chosen; and nothing would satisfy him but the part of *Tactus*, one act of which, where a crown and other regalia are discovered, particularly affected him*.

From Huntingdon grammar-school he was removed to Sydney-Suffex college, in Cambridge, april 23, 1616†; if we believe mr. Hume, 'his genius was found little fitted for the calm and elegant occupations of learning, and consequently he made small proficiencies in his studies‡,' and sir William Dugdale says, 'he threw himself into a disso-

mentioned it often when he was in the height of his glory: it certainly is a proof of the warmth of his imagination, and his early ambition.

* Vide the particular scene that struck Oliver when he acted the part of *Tactus*, in the comedy of *Lingua*, letter G in the proofs and illustrations.

† Oliver when he was entered at Sydney-Suffex college, Cambridge, was seventeen years of age, within two days. Vide proofs and illustrations, letter H.

‡ Hume's history of England.

‘ lute and disorderly course of life, being more
 ‘ famous whilst there for foot-ball, cricket,
 ‘ cudgelling, and wrestling, than for study,
 ‘ and being of a rough and blustering dispo-
 ‘ sition, he acquired the name of royster* ;
 however, as these gentlemen are very far from
 having that impartiality towards this character
 which every historian ought, we must give
 them latitude; it is far from being impro-
 bable that he was fonder of active amusements
 than of learning, but it is certain, that instead
 of totally neglecting his studies, that his tu-
 tor, by discovering the bent of his disposi-
 tion, had address sufficient to persuade him to
 become a proficient in the latin language† ;
 and mr. Waller assures us, that he had a good
 knowledge of the Greek and Latin histories;
 nor must it be forgot, that he ever patronized
 men of learning and science; and that doctor
 Manton assures us, that he had a very valuable

* Sir William Dugdale's short view of the troubles in
 England. Haith, in his Flagellum, corroborates what
 sir William has given; but he, it is well known, wrote
 purposely to villify Cromwell's character.

† Harris's life of the protector Oliver.

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Cromwell,
lord pro-
tector.

and well-chosen library*, all which does not seem to lead us to suppose him averse to learning, or that he was without a competent share of it himself, making allowance for the short time he remained at college; for scarce a single year had elapsed after his going there, before his father died, who leaving him an estate of only about two or three hundred pounds per annum†, charged with his mother's jointure, and probably saddled with a considerable sum to pay off part of the fortunes of his sisters; Mrs. Cromwell prudently determined to take him from the university, and his extravagant turn might, perhaps, contribute to fix her resolve.

The death of a prudent father was a severe loss to young Oliver, for the necessary severity of the parent restrained, though it could not conquer the levity of a youth of strong ungovernable passions; which bar being taken away, he fell into all the dissipation of a

* Harris's life of the protector Oliver.

† Mr. Cowley, the poet, is mistaken, when he says, that Oliver had but two hundred pounds to his fortune.

young heir, unheedful of the tender intreaties of a good mother:

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SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord pro-
tector.

The juice of the grape and the charms of the fair, with an habit of gaming, are said to have ingrossed his mind, instead of attending to Coke upon Littleton, and law reports, which he was sent to study at Lincoln's Inn, soon after his return from Cambridge; and thus says sir Philip Warwick, 'the first years of his manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life, and good fellowship, and gaming.'

From the gay capital he returned a finished rake to the place of his nativity*; here, if we believe his enemies, he followed his vicious courses; the taverns were the chief places of his residence, but his rude and boisterous behaviour prevented his equals consorting with him, for he could ill brook contradiction at any time, and much less now, when he had not learned, or did not think it worth while

* Oliver could have been in London only two or three years, for he came from Cambridge when little more than eighteen years of age, and married when about twenty-two, and he was at Huntingdon some time before his marriage.

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tector.

to practice deceit; he was, therefore, obliged to take up with less creditable companions*; who, if they did not fall into his sentiments, were sure to feel the weight of his arm, and receive a severe discipline from his usual weapon, a quarter staff.

This conduct, say they, with forgetting to pay his reckoning, made him an unwelcome visitor, even to the publicans†; nor were the young women less fearful of him, from the rude incivilities they received from him.

Let his professed enemies be credited, and it will appear, that he had no guard whatever upon his actions at this period, neither considering time, person, or place; he entirely lost the love of his worthy godfather and

* Heath says, his boon companions were tinkers, pedlars, and the like. Flagellum.

† Oliver, it is reported, was so dreaded by the innkeepers, that when they saw him coming, they would say, 'here comes young Cromwell, shut up your doors;' and if the publicans complained of hard usage from their accounts not being settled, they had their windows broken for satisfaction. Same author and work.

uncle,

uncle, sir Oliver Cromwell, who had ever behaved to him with the greatest regard, and who had assisted his education, by having him learnt the polite accomplishments of dancing, music, &c. with his own sons, yet young Oliver could not help indulging his relish for *fun*, at the risk of his total displeasure*.

Finding

* Elenchi motuum nuperorum in Anglia ab Georgio Bateo pars prima.

Sir Oliver was a worthy knight; loved hospitality, and always kept up old customs; accordingly, at christmas, his doors were thrown open to all, who were not only feasted, but entertained with music, dancing, and the usual sports of the age and place. Amongst the relations and friends of sir Oliver, came his nephew and godson, by invitation, to partake of the festivity of one of these seasons; but he so far forgot himself, that to humor a depraved taste he besmeared his cloaths and gloves with human excrements, and across the master of mis-rule*, in the frequent turnings of a frisking dance, as well as every other person that came in his way, so that the company could scarce bear the room from the intolerable smell. The master of mis-rule discovering that our young Oliver was the offender, he seized and ordered him to undergo a severe ducking in a pond adjoining to the house; sir Oliver, his uncle, permitting the sentence to be carried into full execution as a punish-

* Anciently at all great carousings were masters of mis-rule, which was answerable in some measure to our master of the ceremonies.

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Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

Finding that his expensive manner of living could not be supported by his fortune; and that his behaviour had lost him so valuable a friend as his uncle, sir Oliver; he began, before he was quite of age, to listen to the admonitions of a fond and venerable mother; he saw the folly of having lavished away great part of his property; and from ideas of this kind he was naturally led to those of a more material sort; he began to feel a compunction for the crimes he had committed; he determined, therefore, not only to part with his foibles, but to correct his manners; his resolution, perhaps, was sudden, which made the reality of his repentance suspected; but from perseverance in well-doing, his reformation became to be looked upon, as it ought to be, sincere; this recommended him to the notice of many worthy persons, and particularly the or-

ment for his dirty behaviour. Perhaps I ought to apologize for relating so filthy a tale; but as this was the occasion of Oliver's forfeiting his uncle's good opinion, I thought its particular relation could not be dispensed with. *Elenchi pars prima* and *Flagellum*; the latter says, that this nasty story he had seen recounted 'by a worthy and learned hand,' meaning Bates's *Elenchi*,

thodox

thodox clergy, who spoke of this transition from vice to virtue, as extraordinary; he now attended divine service regularly in his own parish church, renounced his former vicious companions, and with them his extravagancies*.

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Cromwell,
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tor.

This alteration in his conduct won him many and great friends; his relations, the Hampdens and Barringtons, interested themselves in his fortunes, and by their influence he obtained an alliance with a lady of the name of Bouchier, and what was wanting in personal attraction, she compensated for by the fortune she brought him, and by her virtue and great good sense: at the time of this his marriage he was just turned twenty-one†; a proof that his gaiety did not continue but a short time; and his settling part of his paternal inheritance upon her‡ that he had not spent it, as some imagine, indeed there was not time scarcely for him.

* Various lives of Oliver, lord protector.

† Oliver, afterwards protector, was born in april, 1599, and his eldest child was born in 1621.

‡ Vide life of the protectress, lady to his highness Oliver.

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Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

Whether he had, exceeding his annual income, or from some other cause now unknown, is uncertain, but he endeavoured to better his fortune by annexing his maternal uncle, sir Thomas Stewart's, estate to his own, even in the life-time of sir Thomas; it is not unlikely that he had asked of that gentleman a liberal supply, and "finding that by a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it*," which he did by petitioning his majesty to grant him a commission of lunacy; but the king dismissed the petition as ill founded.

This, as might be expected, highly provoked his uncle Stewart; but that gentleman, through the intreaty of Oliver's mother, and his other uncle, sir Oliver Cromwell (who was now reconciled to him) with the assistance of some of the clergy, not only forgave the injury, but in the end left him heir to his estate;

* Sir William Dugdale's short view.

the annual amount of which was between four and five hundred pounds*.

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Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

It is difficult to gain the happy medium; from a debauched life, Oliver fell by degrees into another extreme; the quickness of his transition from vice to virtue, and the rigidity of his manners, had recommended him to the notice of the four and austere non-conformists, particularly their preachers, who weaned him from the established church†.

He now took to a stricter course of life, which he daily increased till his mind seemed wholly bent to religious subjects; his house became the retreat of the persecuted non-conformist teachers‡, and they threw a building behind it, which they say he erected for a cha-

* I have no where seen in what year this petition of Oliver against his uncle Stewart was presented, nor when that gentleman died; we have every reason to suppose, that it was before his conversion to puritanism, for it is scarce to be thought of that so loyal and orthodox a person should have made one of so opposite sentiments his heir.

† Various lives of Oliver lord protector.

‡ Ibid.

pel,

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Cromwell,
lord protector.

pel; where many of the disaffected had their religious rites performed, and in which mr. Cromwell himself sometimes gave them some edifying sermons. From his strenuousness in their cause, he was soon looked upon as the head of that interest in the county; and he often interested himself warmly in their behalf, by attending doctor Williams, bishop of Lincoln, and importunately desiring some mitigation for such of the non-conformist preachers, who had fell into trouble, he regarding them as suffering persecution for conscience sake.

As the nation was extremely dissatisfied with the court, he, as a champion against it, obtained a seat for the borough of Huntingdon, in the third parliament of king Charles I. which met january 20, 1628*; he has been greatly blamed for the acrimony he shewed against popery and prelacy at this time, but upon a candid examination, the latter part of the charge at least will not be found true†.

* Rushworth's collections, &c.

† Vide letter I. in the proofs and illustrations.

Upon

Upon the very impolitic dissolution of this parliament, he retired to Huntingdon, and more than ever espoused the cause of the disaffected; his over-heated enthusiasm disturbed his mind, doctor Simcott, his physician, assured sir Philip Warwick, that mr. Cromwell, his patient, ' was quite a splenetic, and had fancies about ' the cross in that town; and that he had been ' called up to him at midnight, and such un- ' seasonable hours very many times, upon a ' strange phansy, which made him believe he ' was then dying*.'

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SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

It is much to be wondered at, that the ministry, who must be well apprized of his sentiments, should make him a recorder of Huntingdon, in the new charter which was granted to that corporation in 1630, jointly with Thomas Beard, D. D. (his old master) and Robert Bernard, esq†. and also with them a justice of peace for that borough‡.

* Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs.

† Mr. Bernard was afterwards member of the long parliament, and by king Charles II. was created a baronet, whose son sir John Bernard became allied to the Cromwell family; his descendants are given in no. 2. vol. II.

‡ The charter now preserved at Huntingdon.

Hunt-

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SECT. II.

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lord protec-
tor.

Huntingdon, however, soon became disagreeable to him; his uncle, sir Oliver Cromwell, was eminently loyal, and he had influence enough to keep the corporation of Huntingdon so likewise; which, with his quarrel with doctor Beard for precedency (and as most say, his embarrassed fortune) made him determine to leave a place in which he saw himself eclipsed in riches by his uncle, and his consequence impeached, even by doctor Beard*.

Whether he was at this, or any former period, concerned in the brewing business, is difficult to determine; many of his enemies lampooned him for it in his life-time, but as Heath†, one of his bitterest enemies, assures us, that he never was a brewer, we may, I think, take his word‡.

Be that as it may, he did not think it beneath him to commence farmer, at St. Ives,

* Various histories of Oliver lord protector.

† Heath's Flagellum.

‡ Vide letter K in the proofs and illustrations, where you will meet with some lampoons upon Cromwell as a brewer.

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in Huntingdonshire, where he went, upon leaving the place of his birth.

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Cromwell,
lord protector.

This mode of living was not suited to his turn of mind; too much of his time was spent with his servants in prayer; and which, with his little knowledge of the business he was embarked in*, there is reason to believe, made him by no means a gainer by the change of his condition; this, together perhaps, with the damp situation of the place, (which did not suit his constitution) made him resolve upon leaving St. Ives†.

It

* Several lives of Oliver, lord protector, particularly Heath's Flagellum, who pretends that the servants were not sent into the field till nine o'clock in the morning, and detained after dinner very late to hear a market lecture retailed; and that these religious servants, to make up for the lost time, played at cards instead of plowing, and other businesses they were to have been employed in: card playing and praying do not seem to accord. Heath, here, is not consistent.

† The clerk of the parish of St. Ives, who is a very intelligent old man, and much superior to his station (having been bred an attorney) told me that he had been informed by old persons, who knew Mr. Cromwell when he resided at St. Ives, that he usually frequented divine service at church,

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Cromwell,
Lord protector.

It must not be forgot, that whilst he resided here, he seemed more than ever to be touched in his conscience for several of his vicious courses, and particularly gaming, declaring his willingness to return any one the money he had won from them; and he actually did so to a mr. Calton, whom accidentally meeting, he desired him to go to his house, where he paid him thirty pounds, which mr. Calton had formerly lost to him, saying, he had obtained it in an unlawful manner, and therefore could not, without sinning, detain it longer*.

He probably quitted St. Ives with some reluctance, as he seems to have been well esteemed here, and to have formed some friendships, which he remembered with plea-

church, and that he generally came with a piece of red flannel round his neck, as he was subject to an inflammation in his throat.—I was in hopes of obtaining some information from the register of St. Ives, respecting the protector Oliver's family, but though extremely well kept, nothing is to be discovered there relating to him.

*. Heath's Flagellum.

sure

sure when he became a sovereign*: he also appears to have regularly attended the public worship of the established church†; but there is some reason to suspect that he was by no means pleased with the clergy‡; he likewise was very active in attending to the parish affairs, whilst he staid at this place§.

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Cromwell,
lord protector.

After a residence of about five years at St. Ives, he disposed of his lease, and went to Huntingdon again, I should suppose, the latter end of the year 1636, as he had a child baptized there in february, 1636-7§.

In the following year (1638) he so strenuously opposed the scheme of draining the fens of Lincolnshire, and the isle of Ely, which

* A gentleman in Huntingdonshire acquainted me, that he had seen several letters written from Oliver Cromwell, when lord protector, to some of the townsmen of St. Ives, and in a very familiar style.

† Vide the last note but two.

‡ Vide letter L in the proofs and illustrations.

§ Vide letter M in the proofs, &c.

¶ Oliver, the protector, has left several memorials of himself at St. Ives. Vide letter N in the proofs and illustrations.

were

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Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

were undertaken by the earl of Bedford and others, under the royal sanction, that by his plausibility, activity, and interest at the meeting held at Huntingdon, he obliged the proprietors to drop their intension, and though the scheme was vastly beneficial to the country, yet, as it was extremely unpopular (particularly amongst the commonality) it gained him a vast accession of friends, and procured him the title of 'Lord of the Fens.'

As the same reasons still remained to make Huntingdon disagreeable to him, he not only determined to leave that town, but even his native country itself, to enjoy that liberty of conscience which was denied him in his own.

With this design he went to London, and embarked with many other gentlemen of fashion, several of whom were of far better fortune than himself, particularly his cousin Hampden*, in order to sail for New England, in

* Sir Matthew Boynton, Sir William Constable, Sir Arthur Haslerigge, the patriot Hampden, with several others, had

in America, which was then the retreat of the disaffected and persecuted nonconformists, where they found a shelter from archbishop Laud's impolitic and cruel severity.

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SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protector.

But his intention of leaving the kingdom was prevented by the government, which was jealous at so many subjects transplanting themselves; a proclamation was therefore set forth, forbidding any to leave the island without a royal licence; and as this was found insufficient, an order of council was set forth, commanding 'the lord treasurer to take speedy and effectual course for the stay of eight ships, 'then in the river of Thames, prepared to go 'to New England,' and 'for putting on land 'all the passengers and provisions therein, intended for the voyage:' in one of these vessels was mr. Cromwell, with all his family, who with him was obliged to disembark*.

had actually embarked for New England, and the lords Brooke and Say and Seal had made preparations to banish themselves there.

* Lilly pretends it was because of his uncle Stewart's death, by which he came to a good estate.

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SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

Disappointed in his intentions, he retired to his native county, and resided at one of the estates his uncle Stewart had left him, in the isle of Ely, but at what particular place it is now difficult, perhaps, impossible to determine*.

Whilst he was in the isle he was at the highest pitch of enthusiasm; his mind disengaged from every thing but religious melancholly, heightened by dissatisfaction to both the religious and civil establishments of the kingdom, and constantly reflecting upon some disappointments in his fortunes, rendered him gloomy to the extreme; the foibles of his youth were swelled by his imagination into the greatest of crimes; in a letter to Mrs. St. John, his cousin, dated Ely, the 13th of October, 1639, he thus expresses his compunction

* The country people in Huntingdon and Cambridge-shire have an idea of the protector Oliver having resided at a great number of places in those counties, as the city of Ely, Fordham, Outwell, all in the last county, besides many others; but there is no reason to suppose that he ever lived at any of them, for after many enquiries made at those places, there was nothing discovered to ground even such a supposition upon.

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SECT. II.Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protector.
...

for his former offences, 'You know what
' my manner of life hath been, O! I lived in,
' and loved darkness, and hated the light; I
' was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is
' true, I hated godliness, yet God had mercy
' on me*.'

In 1640, king Charles called a parliament to
assist him with money, but they rather wishing
to obtain a redress for many real and some
supposed grievances, the mistaken monarch
dissolved them, in hopes of obtaining money
some other way than contending with so angry
an assembly; but no sooner were they dis-

* Harris's life of Oliver Cromwell. This letter I think
sufficient to evince that the protector was in his youth de-
bauched, and we have the greatest reason to believe this,
because Carrington, in his history of Oliver, dedicated to
his highness Richard, wholly passes over the former part of
his life, as knowing it too culpable to be pleasing to his son
to hear of; it would, however, be doing an injury to Oli-
ver's memory, not to observe, that the 'worthy and curious
mr. Edward Farrer, of Huntingdon, acquainted sir James
Barrow, that 'they had no traces in that neighbourhood
' of Oliver's having led a dissolute life; but really they are
exceedingly ignorant of every thing respecting their great
townsman.'

K 2

missed,

PART II.
SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Oliver  
 Cromwell,  
 lord protec-  
 tor.

missed, than he was obliged, in the same year, to call another parlement, in both of which Oliver obtained a seat, as member for the city of Cambridge, in opposition to counsellor Mewtis, who had been one of their representatives in all the parlements of king Charles; the corporation were highly pleased with him, on account of his opposing the draining the fens, which they had set themselves against; and Dugdale says, he had some short time resided\* at Cambridge, before his election, but it is not probable.

It has been supposed that he obtained his last election by artifice; but it carries many improbabilities with it: however, for the satisfaction of the reader, the whole occurrence is given in another place†.

I have now ushered this celebrated man into the ever-memorable Long Parliament, which did the nation more injury by their

\* Dugdale's short view.

† Vide letter O in the proofs and illustrations.

ambition,

ambition, bigotry, and tyranny, than the king had done by his.

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protector.

It will not be improper to take a varied view of Oliver at this time, to examine how far he might be supposed capable of making a shining figure in so august an assembly.

He was in the middle age of life, the most proper for deliberation, though not, perhaps, for action; his judgment and capacity were certainly great, but so were very many then in the house.

His estate, if we believe many, was either entirely lost by extravagance, or greatly impaired; it might, indeed, be somewhat lessened, yet we can venture to say, it was not so much so as has been generally supposed; but then at the best of times it was but an inconsiderable inheritance for a man who set up himself as a leader of a party in a great nation, and a very trifle when compared to what the generality of the members then in the house enjoyed\*.

\* Vide letter P in the proofs and illustrations.

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
1d. protect.

If we look to his advantages as a gentleman, we shall see still a greater disproportion between him and most of the members of the house of commons; instead of being versed in the living and dead languages, his learning extended only to a moderate knowledge of the latin\*; so far from knowing foreign interests, and the courts and dispositions of the princes upon the continent, as many did, he was never out of his native kingdom, nor scarce his own county; he had been only one year at the university, and he resided but a short time in the capital, and both before his arrival to man's estate, except when he went to the latter to embark for America. It is probable that he never was at court, nor never in any but a few days parlement, so that he

\* It has been said, that the protector Oliver had even forgot the little latin he learnt at school; but as a proof to the contrary, I find, that in a letter from Bevering to Jongestall, at the Hague, dated 22, 12, Aug. 1653, he says, that last saturday 'I had a discourse with his excellency Cromwell above two hours, being without any body present with us. His excellency spoke his own language so distinctly, that I could answer him. He (Cromwell) answered again in latin.'

could

could know little or nothing of the ways of either, and not much of the characters of the leading men, either of the court or country party.

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protec-  
tor.

In his person, though manly, he did not possess any of those elegancies, those bewitching graces, which so captivate regard and command respect, and which is only to be acquired by a long and familiar acquaintance with persons of the first rank.

Instead of the eloquence of a Demosthenes, he had not the smallest pretension to rhetoric; in his address he was confused and unintelligible.

His dress was far from attracting respect; he rather engaged the attention of the house by a slovenly habit; his cloaths were ill made, entirely out of fashion, the work of an ordinary country taylor, and no part of his dress of the best materials\*.

\* Vide letter Q in the proofs and illustrations, in which are two fine drawn pictures of Oliver, at his first appearance in the long parliament.

K 4.

With

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protec-  
tor.

With all these disadvantages one would suppose he was very unlikely to become a principal person in the senate, and still less its future sovereign.

It must, however, be observed, that as one of the patriotic phalanx, under his cousin Hampden, he was certainly, at his first entering the house, of great consequence, as that interest was formidable from the ability and riches of its members, their asperity to the court under whom they had smarted in the cause of liberty, which endeared them to the people at large, and which, with the near relationship of many of them, bound them together in indissoluble bonds.

Subtracted however from this, he soon commanded the attention of the house by the depth of his arguments, though delivered without grace, eloquence, or even clearness\*; and he gradually rose in the favour of the house, and overcame all his disadvantages by his penetration, unwearied diligence, courage, per-

\* Vide letter R in the proofs and illustrations.

severance,

severance, by accommodating himself to the dispositions of the different persons of his own party, and discovering the tempers of all, and by even not neglecting to copy the dress and behaviour of the most graceful and refined\*.

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protec-  
tor.

A man of his deep penetration, must perceive that the national liberty was wounded, and perhaps, from his melancholly reflections, might look upon them as destroyed: in his religious sentiments undoubtedly he was a flaming, puritanic bigot; loud against the Laudeans, the name of popery, if not prelacy, was to him as obnoxious as those of puritan, and lay-preaching, to the head-strong, impolitic, and unfortunate Laud; he was as violent against the decent ceremonies of the church, as the latter was anxious to graft upon them many of the idle ones of the church of Rome; his sincerity at this time might be equal to his zeal, for certainly he now looked upon himself as a chosen vessel†.

Probably

\* Vide letter S in the proofs and illustrations.

† Oliver had not come to any settled principles in religion, at least church government; nor fixed upon what  
concession

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Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protector.

Probably at this time he saw, with his cousin Hampden, that a civil war must decide between prerogative and liberty, and determined the part he should take; but if he formed any aspiring views they must have been very confined, he could never dream of attaining the command of the army, much less that of the kingdoms.

The unhappy 1642 was the commencement of this fatal quarrel between king Charles and his parlement, owing to the insincerity of both; when (through the interest of mr, Hampden) he obtained a commission from the parlement to raise a troop of horse; which he found no difficulty in doing, in his own county of Huntingdon.

He first served under sir Philip Stapleton, and was in the battle of Edge-hill; in the following year (1643) he obtained a colonel's commission, and almost immediately after was

concession the court should make, respecting religion at this time; for he said, in a conversation between him and sir Thomas Chickley, and sir Philip Warwick, upon that subject, 'I can tell you, sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot tell what I would.'

appointed

appointed lieutenant-general to the earl of Manchester, for the services he had performed; so rapidly did he rise in the army, though before unacquainted with arms.

PART II.  
SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protector.

His relief of Gainsborough, in this year, it was that laid the foundation for his future great fortunes\*.

His antipathy to his sovereign for his tyranny was probably greatly heightened by the personal disobligations he received from him†; so that at the first setting out in the army he openly confessed the little respect he bore his majesty‡, and which was well known to archbishop Williams, who recommended to the king, to secure him by some signal favor; but if not, to take him off by violence; his majesty was conscious of the propriety of what the archbishop recommended; for though at the time he only smiled, yet afterwards he was heard to say, ‘ I would that some would do me the

\* Vide letter T in the proofs and illustrations.

† Vide letter V in the proofs and illustrations.

‡ Vide letter W in the proofs and illustrations.

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SECT. II.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protector.

' good service to bring Cromwell to me alive  
' or dead\*.'

Under Fairfax, he was the great movement of a victorious army, and which must in the end give laws to the kingdom; his narrow principles of religion had now little more than the mask remaining; for that, with his patriotism, was lost in his own private ambition; and, to a mind so aspiring as his, it was impossible to set down again the private gentleman, when honours and great emoluments were at his command, and courted his acceptance.

His ambition was not yet boundless, he had probably set a certain mark to his bounds, the arriving at which would entirely have satisfied him, and he would in return have been, no doubt, as firm a friend to the ruined monarch, as he had been a formidable foe.

The utmost of his wish, it is said, was at one time, to have been created earl of Essex,

\* Bishop Hacket's life of archbishop Williams.

honored with the garter, made first captain of the guards, and declared vicar-general of the kingdom; and though the demands may seem extravagant, yet when his situation is considered, and that his name-sake and relation, from the meanest situation, had still born more than these under so great a sovereign as Henry VIII. it will not be thought that he was so unreasonable in his proposals\*. Had not Monk been bribed with a dukedom, a revenue, and the garter, the restoration might never have taken place, and yet the most impartial must give Cromwell the preference in every point, honor and honesty not excepted.

But the unfortunate monarch, whose mind was unsettled, wavering, distrustful, and insincere, instead of closing with terms which could only save his crown, his life, and the constitution, endeavoured by artifice, first to amuse, and then to ruin him; but Cromwell, to whom nothing, how secret soever, was unknown, ex-

\* It was the less unreasonable in Oliver to ask the above conditions, as, in 1645, in the debate about the propositions for peace, the parlement voted, that he should be created a baron, and have 2500l. per ann. settled upon him.

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Oliver  
Cromwell,  
lord protec-  
tor.

celled him as much in policy as he did then in real power; yielded, though with some reluctance at first, to secure his own life, by the sacrifice of that of his sovereign\*.

His hypocrisy to the public, and jocularly throughout the dreadful tragedy of the king's

\* 'The life of Oliver Cromwell' says, that Cromwell has undergone much unmerited censure respecting the king's death, and that it was not in his power to prevent it; and, that without risking his own, he could not save the king's. It must be remembered that, at this time, Cromwell could have formed no idea of ever possessing the sovereign power, and would have been happy to have closed with his majesty, had he been sincere, and could have done it with safety to himself, by not risking the hatred of the army; for it appears, that they were so jealous of him, that he durst not be seen with, or permit any one to come to him from the king; but at this time he averred, 'he would serve the king as long as he could do it without his own ruin; but honestly declared, that it must not be expected that he would perish for his sake.' After this it was, that Oliver discovered the king's insincerity, in a letter to the queen, in which he said he was courted by both parties, but would close with those that offered the best terms. This was highly ungenerous, when he had pledged his honor to the army. He did worse; he declared, in a letter to his queen, that it would be easier to take off Cromwell, when he had agreed with the parlement, than now he was at the head of the army—all this Oliver knew.

trial and execution (though great part of it was forced, and only a cover to hide the perturbation of his mind within\*) gives greater pain than the action itself. There might be the primary principle of nature, self-defence, in putting the king to death, to plead in his justification, at least extenuation, but none to indulge a vein of mirth and pleasantry in the misfortunes of any one, particularly a person of so high a dignity, and who stood in so sacred a relationship to him as his sovereign †.

After

\* Sir Purbeck Temple, one who was named a commissioner to try king Charles I. but refused to act, gave in evidence upon the trial of Harry Marten, one of the regicides, that hiding himself so as to see and hear what was transacting in the painted chamber, where the commissioners of the high court of justice were assembled to contrive how they should regulate their novel proceedings; that when news was brought that the king was landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs, Cromwell ran to the window to view his majesty as he came up to the garden, but returned as white as the wall.

† Cromwell, during the last scenes of the king's life, talked jestingly and acted buffoonry, and this too when he was professing himself only guided by Providence; and lamenting the condition of his sovereign, whose miserable fate he was fixing. From the trials of the regicides we find that

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SECT. II.

~~~~~  
 Oliver
 Cromwell,
 Lord protec-
 tor.

After the tragic death of that monarch, by an artful management, he drove his masters and employers, the parlement, from the sovereignty, into which he stept, and governed these nations, with an applause that wanted only legality to give it the greatest praise, as well from the honor he procured the british name throughout the world; as from his disinterestedness in the domestic administration, as far as was consistent with his own safety and the temper of the times.

The reader, I flatter myself, will excuse my having been so particular in giving the former part of this great man's life, as it is in general

that ' he laughed, smiled, and jeered, in the court of Wards' during the trial; and when he signed the warrant for the execution with his pen, he marked Harry Marten's face, and Marten returned the compliment. Some say, that he went to feast his eyes upon the murdered king, put his finger to the neck, to feel whether it was entirely severed, and viewing the inside of the body, observed how sound it was, and how well made for longevity. There was no excuse for this; yet did he before, during the trial and execution, mock his maker by hypocritical prayers; and at those times, and after, would shed tears for his master's unhappy situation and death.

as little known as the latter part of it is universally so; it was the more necessary, as Papadopoli; and some other foreign writers say, that he spent many years abroad, and Rapin, that it is not known how he spent his time before he was thirty-five years of age; on the contrary, I have sufficiently shewn, he was never so much as once out of the kingdom till after the civil war broke out; and have given his history till that time, as full as it is consistent with the privacy of a country gentleman.

He was elected protector december 12, 1653*, and inaugurated again with more state, june 20, 1657†; and died peaceably in his bed (worn out by excessive fatigue of mind and body, by grief for domestic misfortunes, and his load of debts) at his palace of Whitehall, upon his auspicious september 3, 1658; and was buried with more than regal pomp,

* Vide letter W in the proofs and illustrations.

† Vide X in the same.

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Oliver
Cromwell,
lord pro-
tector.

in the sepulchre of our monarchs*, from whence, at the restoration, his body was dragged to, and exposed upon the gallows at Tyburn, the trunk thrown into an hole beneath it, and his head set upon a pole at Westminster-Hall.

The friends of this most victorious general, and greatest sovereign of Europe, in the age in which he lived, will not believe that his enemies had the barbarous satisfaction of putting indignities upon his corpse; but their regard to his memory has made them blind to conviction†.

It was formerly a matter of dispute, whether this illustrious character was a saint or an hypocrite; as it is at present, whether 'he most deserved an halter or a crown,' time has unravelled the truth; we must neither join with Dawbenty, who drew a parallel between Moses,

* Vide the funeral procession of the protector Oliver, letter Y in the proofs and illustrations.

† Vide letter Z in the proofs and illustrations.

the man of God, and Oliver the protector*; nor, with the grave doctor Echart†, believe colonel Lindsey, that his highness sold himself to the devil, though he avers that he saw the solemn contract made, and specifies both time and place‡; it would, however, be presumption

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Oliver
Cromwell,
lord pro-
tector.

* Dawbney's parallel between Oliver lord protector, &c. and Moses, the man of God.

† Dr. Echart's history of England.

‡ Anthony a Wood, a red hot loyalist, no doubt gave credit to this extraordinary bargain, for, in his journal, he says, 'August 30, 1658, monday, a terrible raging wind happened, which did much damage; Dennis Bond, a great Oliverian, and anti-monarchist, died on that day, and then the devil took Bond for Oliver's appearance; in another of his works, the reason he assigns for Bond's death is, because Oliver was not then prepared, so gave this gentleman for his appearance. In his journal, he adds, september 3, Oliver Cromwell, the protector, died, 'this I set down, because some writers tell us, that he was hurried away in the wind before mentioned.' Lord Clarendon, who with certainty assigns Oliver to eternal perdition, might suppose, that his satanic majesty sent this high wind for his friend Noll, as, according to him, it happened on september 3, instead of august 30. Oliver's admirers have likewise represented this wind as coming to usher him into the other world, but for a very different reason. This will shew how far party zeal will carry men; and as so fair an opportunity offers, I cannot but notice that the same extravagancies have been

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Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

tion in me to attempt to fix the limits between the ideas of these writers, perhaps it is better settled

been used respecting the character of king Charles I. as towards that of Oliver. Charles was a prince of great failings, yet possessed many very exalted virtues; but, like Cromwell, he has been blamed and praised beyond all bounds; he has been called the greatest tyrant of England, not excepting Richard III. and Henry VIII. and the author of Nonfuch Charles compares him to Nero: on the contrary, general Digby, in a letter to the duke of Ormond, thus speaks of his death; 'From the creation of the world, to the accursed day of this damnable murder, nothing parallel to it was ever heard of; even the crucifying our blessed Saviour, if we consider him only in human nature, did nothing equal it.' Bishop Down has exceeded his lordship in the vehemence of expression, not to say, blasphemy. 'The person now murdered,' says that prelate, 'was not the lord of glory, but a glorious lord, Christ's own vicar, his lieutenant, and vicegerent here on earth. Albeit, he was inferior to Christ, as man is to God, yet was his privilege of inviolability far more clear than was Christ's, for Christ was not a temporal prince, his kingdom was not of this world, and therefore, when he vouchsafed to come into this world, and to become the son of man, he did subject himself to the law; but our gracious sovereign was well known to be a temporal prince, a free monarch, to whom they did all owe and had sworn allegiance. The parlement is the great council, and hath acted all and more against their lord and sovereign, than the other did against Christ. The proceedings against our

fettled in the following character of him than in any other.

PART II.
SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protector.

‘ Oliver Cromwell was of a robust make and
‘ constitution, and his aspect manly, though
‘ clownish*. His education extended no fur-
‘ ther than a superficial knowledge of the latin
‘ tongue, but he inherited great talents from
‘ nature; though they were such as he could not
‘ have exerted to advantage at any juncture than
‘ that of a civil war, inflamed by religious
‘ contests. His character was formed from an
‘ amazing conjunction of enthusiasm, hypo-

‘ our sovereign were more illegal, and in many things more
‘ cruel.’ Rheese, or (as he chose to call himself) Arise
Evans, a Welch prophet, goes further, for he declares
Charles to partake of Christ’s divinity, and says, that as
Christ was not actually a temporal king, all righteousness
was not completed, but in the death of this miserable king,
but like his contemporary and antagonist Lilly, he was a
false prophet; the former, as a loyalist, votes for Charles
the second’s restoration, because, as he declares, that pious
prince would convert the Jews to christianity; and the latter,
as a republican, prophesied, that there would be no more
kings in Britain. Charles would have been justly offended,
had any dared to liken him or his sufferings to those of his
saviour’s.

* Vide letters AA in the proofs and illustrations.

PART H.
SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

‘crisy, and ambition. He was possessed of
‘courage and resolution that overlooked all
‘dangers, and saw no difficulties. He dived
‘into the characters of mankind with wonder-
‘ful sagacity, whilst he concealed his own pur-
‘poses under the impenetrable shield of dissi-
‘mulation. He reconciled the most atrocious
‘crimes to the most rigid notions of religious
‘obligations. From the severest exercise of
‘devotion, he relaxed into the most ludicrous
‘and idle buffoonry. He preserved the dignity
‘and distance of his character in the midst of
‘the coarsest familiarity. He was cruel and ty-
‘rannic from policy, just and temperate from
‘inclination*, perplexed and despicable in his
‘discourse, clear and consummate in his designs,
‘ridiculous in his reveries, respectable in his
‘conduct; in a word, the strangest compound

* Mr. John Maidstone, in a letter to John Winthorpe, esq. governor of the colony of Connecticut, in New England, dated from Westminster, march 24, 1659, speaking of the protector Oliver, says, ‘he was naturally compassion-
‘ate, towards objects of distress, even to an effeminate mea-
‘sure, though God had made him an heart wherein was
‘left little room for any fears, but what was due from him-
‘self, of which there was a large proportion, yet did he
‘exceed in tenderness towards sufferers.’

‘ of villainy and virtue, baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good sense, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind*.’

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SECT. II.

Oliver
Cromwell,
lord protector.

We have few pictures, but many engravings of Oliver, a particular account of the latter is to be found in another part of this work†.

The protector Oliver married Elizabeth, daughter of sir James Bouchier, of Felsted†, in Essex, knt. son of Thomas Bouchier, by Elizabeth, daughter of James Morley, of London‡.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord protector.

She

* Smollet's history of England—Smollet was a good painter of the minds of men ; but, as he was known to have no small attachment to the high prerogative, we may suppose, he has not been partial to Cromwell. Vide letters BB in the proofs and illustrations.

† Vide letters CC in the proofs and illustrations.

‡ Dr. Nash, in his Worcestershire, styles sir James Bouchier, of Little Stambridge, in Essex.

§ Elizabeth, the wife of Thomas Bouchier, surviving him, re-married to William Seabright, of Blackhall, in the parish of Wolverley, in Worcestershire, town-clerk of London, 16 Eliz. and with great honor acquired a very affluent fortune. Abingdon speaks thus of him, ‘ he was the lov-

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SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oli-
ver, lord
protector.

She is always represented as descended from the earls of Essex of that name, but this is so far from being the case, that Sylvanus Morgan acquaints us, that sir James was of so new a family, that he had his coat of arms granted to him in october, 1610, viz. sable, three ounces passant in pale, or, spotted*; this may be the reason why the protectress's arms are never seen with her husband's, either upon his great or privy seal, though upon the latter are his own arms, with many quarterings; they were, however, upon the escutcheons used at the protector Oliver's funeral†.

The

* ing father of the poor of Wolvereloy and the neighbouring parishes, whose large gifts are recorded on a table on the north isle of Wolverley church. This Seabright was of the family of the baronet Seabright; he had no child by either, by this Elizabeth, or by a former wife. Dr. Nash's history of Worcestershire.

* Morgan's sphere of gentry, by which it appears, that such grants or exemplifications of arms as were given during Camden's being in the herald's office, are called clarencieux Camden's gifts.

† As the armorial ensigns used at the protector's funeral are very little known, I will give them here from sir James Barrow's anecdotes and observations relating to Oliver Cromwell.

The factious Lilburne has accused her of disposing of places in the army during her husband's generalship; and Grainger says, 'it has been asserted, that she as deeply interested herself in steering the *helm*, as she had done in turning the *spit*, and that she was as constant a spur to her husband in the career of his ambition, as she had been to her servants in their culinary employments*.' The scurrilous Heath pretends also that 'she was trained up and made the waiting woman of his providence, and lady rampant of his suc-

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SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord protector.

Cromwell. The escutcheons were these, 'Impaled baron and femme, first for himself, quarterly, first and fourth, argent, a cross, gules (for England) second, azure, a saltire, argent (for Scotland) third, azure, a harp, or, stringed argent (for Ireland).' (The arms of France were not assumed, as the Cromwells were in strict alliance with that crown). 'In an escutcheon of pretence, sable, a lion rampant, argent (for his paternal coat); and secondly, for his wife, sable, three leopards passant in pale, or, spotted of the first, (the ounces are miscalled leopards, because both are spotted animals). The crown over the escutcheon was composed of crosses, patonce, and leaves (like that of the prince of Wales) with an arch joining cross-ways over the red cap of velvet, but not rising so high as the regal crown.'

* Grainger's Biography.

'cessful

PART II.
SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oli-
ver, lord
protector.

‘cessful greatness*, which she personated af-
‘terwards as imperiously as himself.’ Papa-
dopoli had likewise the same sentiments; for
he says, that ‘the incubus of her bed made
‘her partaker too of the pleasures of the
‘throne†.’

These, however, are false representations,
for though she possessed some spirit, and the
best abilities, she always acted in conformity
to the protector’s desire, except in wishing
rather to bridle than stimulate his ambition,
Ludlow, one of the greatest enemies to the fa-
mily, acknowledges, that when Oliver removed
from the Cock-pit, ‘which the house of parle-
‘ment had assigned him, to take possession of
‘Whitehall, which he assigned himself, his
‘wife seemed at first unwilling to remove thi-
‘ther, though afterwards she became better
‘satisfied with her grandeur‡.’

She certainly earnestly wished and endea-
voured to effect a reconciliation with the royal

* Flagellum.

† Nicol. Comnenus Papadopoli’s history.

‡ Ludlow’s memoirs.

family, even when her husband was at the very summit of grandeur; and for this purpose she eagerly listened to the proposal of lady Dyfart (afterwards duchess of Lauderdale) for restoring the exiled king, and promised to break it to his highness; which she did one morning before he rose; for, having first prefaced the many dangers he was exposed to from his situation, and the certain ruin of his family, at his death, she desired him to accept the carte blanche the king had sent, as it would not only secure a pardon for all past offences, but raise the family to honors little less than regal; she received no other answer than ‘you are a fool, Charles Stuart can never forgive me his father’s death, nor the injustice he has suffered from me, and if he can, he is unworthy of the crown*.’

PART II.
SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord protector.

Cromwell was not of a disposition for any one about him to have much interest in any affairs of

* Echard’s history of England. He says, he had this anecdote from one to whom the duchess told it. What makes this the more probable is, that Bamfield, one of Cromwell’s spies, writ to Thurloe, that mrs. Scot told him, that king Charles II. had some friends in my lord protector’s family, that wished him very well.

state.

PART II.
SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oli-
ver, lord
protector.

state. With respect to his family concerns, he seems to have consulted her, but no further; he was a tender husband, it is acknowledged, but very far from an uxorious one; his was not a court where ladies could boast much of their power; he was in years, and though not indifferent to the charms of the fair sex, her highness's person was not calculated to inspire love, though her mind was respect and friendship; and, therefore, instead of the sway which Heath and Papadopoli have pretended she endeavoured to gain over the protector, she obtained his esteem by her humble and modest deportment, and by omitting no opportunity of pleasing him*: she certainly had no small regard for him, as she could not, without the greatest uneasiness, see him lavishing his tenderest regards upon others,—for Oliver, with all his faintship, was but a frail vessel†.

We

* The protectress was certainly an obedient wife, as may be seen by a letter of her's to her husband (the only one published). Vide letters DD in the proofs and illustrations.

† The protector, Oliver, though a great devotee, is known to have indulged himself, after he arrived at power, with the company of ladies, and that not in the most innocent manner; lady Dysart, afterwards duchess of Lauderdale,

We have but little knowledge of the history of this lady, for the reasons above assigned; the
royalists,

PART II.
SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord protector.

dale, and mrs. Lambert, have been frequently given as his mistresses; they were ladies of very different accomplishments; the former was beautiful, witty, learned, and full of intrigue; mrs. Lambert employed herself only in praying and singing hymns: it was a court jest, that the protector's instrument (of government) was found under my lady Lambert's petticoat; his acquaintance with the gay lady Dyfart gave such offence to the godly, that he was obliged to decline his visits to her; but there could no hurt arise in holding heavenly meditations with mrs. Lambert. Heath, in his *Flagellum*, says, mrs. Lambert was a woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body. There is an history printed, of a pretended natural son of the protector's, but it is too marvellous to be true; probably, however, Oliver had natural children, one of whom was a doctor Millington, after whose name, in the register of Strensham, in Worcestershire (the birth place of the humorous Butler) is, 'Query, was not he a bastard of Oliver Cromwell;' and I am the more inclined to think this true, because in the postscript of a letter from Ursula Hornyhold, dated from London, december 4, 1744, to a gentleman in the vicinity of that place, is, 'Did you ever hear it said, that doctor Millington was illegitimate—here has been talk that doctor Millington was a bastard of Oliver Cromwell.'—The scandal it would have given, had the puritans known of his amours, and the advantages the cavaliers would have made of it, would be a great reason for his keeping matters of this kind from the eyes of the public; besides, though her highness was an obedient

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SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oli-
ver, lord
protector.

royalists, however, have supplied the place of facts, by substituting scandal; they charge her with gallantry*, and a love of liquor†; there seems as much reason to believe one as the other; her situation, as the wife of the grand enemy of so many parties, must, no doubt, make her conduct watched with the greatest care, that any impropriety might be blazoned abroad, to throw an odium upon herself and family; and as we have nothing that bears the least of reproach mentioned by any author deserving the least credit, we may safely pronounce her to be, though plain in her person‡, a virtuous and good woman, and deserving the character which my favorite writer has given of her, that ‘ she was an excellent house-
‘ wife, and as capable of descending to the kit-
‘ chen, with propriety, as she was of acting in her
‘ exalted station with dignity; certain it is, that
‘ she acted a much more prudent part as protec-

obedient wife, she was not without spirit and sensibility; but though she might know that she had reason to suspect the protector, we cannot suppose she carried it to such unreasonable lengths as to be jealous of Christina, queen of Sweden, as some pretend.

* Vide letters EE. in the proofs and illustrations.

† Vide letters FF in the proofs, &c.

‡ Vide letters GG in the proofs, &c.

treas,

‘ tress, than Henrietta did as queen, and that
 ‘ she educated her children with as much abi-
 ‘ lity as she governed her family with address.
 ‘ Such a woman would, by a natural transition,
 ‘ have filled a throne*.’

PART II.
 SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
 wife of Oli-
 ver, lord
 protector.

The army was not insensible to her merit, they obliged the parlement to make a suitable settlement upon her, at a time when the Cromwelian interest was no more; it was grateful in them, and honourable to her†.

Perceiving the return of the king would take place, she conveyed a great quantity of gold, and some of the best and most portable valuables belonging to the royal family, to the Thames side, to export them out of the kingdom; but it was discovered, and the whole of them seized for his majesty's use. Till this time she had lived at the Cock-pit, and at Whitehall; but leaving them, she went from London‡ and retired into Wales. Mr.

* Grainger's biographical history of England.

† Journals of the house of commons, &c.

‡ Mr. Morant's history of Essex.

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SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord protector.

Gräinger says, he was credibly informed, that she was a considerable time in Switzerland.—

Finding that no enquiries were made after her, she returned into England, and settled in Cambridgeshire, where she continued to her death, courting obscurity.

She had the great tythes of Hartford, which is about a mile from Huntingdon, settled upon her, as I have been informed by a gentleman who had seen the marriage settlement: Oliver afterwards settled two thousand pounds a year upon her, in addition to this*; but probably she never received any part of it, as it was, I think, issuing out of estates which were granted to him by the parlement, and belonged to the delinquent loyalists; who, at the restoration, would naturally reclaim what had been forcibly taken from them; the eight thousand pounds per annum, settled upon her by the parlement, was also probably never paid to her, nor, perhaps, any part of it; so that

* Vide the schedule given in by the protector Richard, to the parlement, after his resignation, stating the whole of his estates, in the proofs and illustrations.

we must suppose she had but trifling to support herself upon during her widowhood, and that arising chiefly from the sale of those valuables that she retained after the protector's death, as great part of the personalty would come to her, as his highness made no disposition of his affairs.

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SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord
protector.

She survived the protector fourteen years, and died september 16, 1672, aged 74; her remains were deposited in the chancel of the church of Wicken, in the county of Cambridge; she is buried within the communion rails; the inscription upon her grave-stone is,

Elizabetha Cromwell, de Ely
Obiit xvi. die Septembris,
Anno Christi MDCLXXII. annoq.
Ætatis LXXIII. *

In person, the protectress was certainly very ordinary; and there is reason to suppose she had some blemish in one eye †. There is an engraved

* Both doctor Gibbons and mr. Grainger have said, that mrs. Cromwell died october 8, 1672. This inscription I copied from the grave-stone.

† Vide letters *GG in the proofs and illustrations.

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SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oli-
ver, lord
protector.

head of her in a small scarce book, intituled, 'the court and kitchen of Elizabeth, called Joan * Cromwell, wife of the late usurper, truly described and represented †:' it is nearly engraved, and exhibits her face in a black hood, in a plain homely dress; it expresses little delicacy, and less beauty; Mr. Grainger thought it genuine, though its appendages render it, I should otherwise have thought, suspected; for in the upper part of the print is a monkey, alluding to the old adage of the ape; the higher it goes, the more it exposes its backside, and at the bottom of the picture is,

From feigned glory, and usurped throne,
And all the greatness to me falsely shewn,
And from the arts of government set free,
See how protectress and a drudge agree ‡.

Loyalty, at that period, was shewn in satire;
to be loyal was to abuse all of the opposite party,

* From the inelegant appearance the protectress made, the cavaliers usually styled her Joan Cromwell.

† This book is extremely rare; it was printed in London, in 1664, in 12mo. I never could see it.

‡ Grainger's biographical history.

guilty

guilty or innocent*. This print has been copied†; and, for want of any other, has been also for this work‡. There is no portrait of this lady, except one in the possession of the miss Cromwells, that is genuine: Mr. Hollis had an impression in wax of a medal of her; probably by one of the Simons.

PART II.
SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of Oliver,
lord
protector.

It is singular, that we know of none of the protectress' relations that interested themselves during the civil wars, nor that was employed during the Cromwelian administration||.

Miss Cromwell informs me, she thinks there are descendants of Sir James Bouchier, the protectress' father, still living in Hertfordshire.

* Butler has also ridiculed the protectress and her family.

† Mr. Christopher Sharp, an ingenious turner, of Cambridge, has taken Mrs. Cromwell's face from the above print.

‡ It gave the author pain to copy this plate, but he thought if any part of it was omitted, it would look as if given for an original. §

|| Sir John Bouchier, a Yorkshire knight, one of the king's judges, nor the loyal Mr. George Bouchier, that was inhumanly shot at Bristol, were neither of them relations to the protector's wife.

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

Robert
Cromwell,
first son of
Oliver, lord
protector.

The Children of the protector, Oliver Cromwell.

1. Robert, who was named after his grandfather, mr. Robert Cromwell, was baptized at St John's church, in Huntingdon, october 13, 1621; as we have no further account of him, most probably he died at school, when a child; for he was not buried at Huntingdon.

Oliver
Cromwell,
second son
of Oliver,
lord protec-
tor.

2. Oliver, who was baptized at St. John's church, in Huntingdon, february 6, 1622-3; by the procurement of the earl of Warwick he was sent to Felsted free-grammar school, in Essex, which that nobleman had founded, and placed under the tuition of mr. Holbeach; probably his maternal grandfather, sir John Bouchier's, residing at Felsted, did not a little promote his being sent there*.

At the breaking out of the civil wars he was about nineteen, soon after which, by his

* Mr. Morant's history of Essex.—Felsted school was at that time in great repute; doctor John Wallis, and doctor Isaac Barrow, had their education there.

father's interest, he procured a commission in the parlement army: Lilburn, *the factious*, accuses Oliver, his father, with having several relations in the army in 1647; and amongst others, that he had two of his own sons, one a captain of the general's life guard, the other a captain of a troop of horse in colonel Harrison's regiment; both, says Lilburne, raw and inexperienced soldiers*. It is well known, that Richard, the second son, was not designed for the sword, but the bar, and had no commission in the army till long after his father had been declared protector, so that the sons of Oliver, then in the army, must be this gentleman, and Henry his brother; but it is observable, that Henry, who certainly was the captain of the general's life guard, is mentioned first.

Scarce any author notices this son Oliver at all, and none that I know of have given us any account of what became of him: there is, however, little doubt to be made, but that he was the captain Cromwell, who was killed in

* Biographia Britannica, article John Lilburne.

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Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

july, 1648, in attempting to repulse the scotch army that invaded England, under the duke of Hamilton, at which time colonel Harrison was wounded*; the latter circumstance clearly evinces that it was Oliver (afterwards the protector's) son that was killed, as he is, just above, mentioned as being a captain to Harrison's regiment.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord pro-
tector.

3. Richard, afterwards lord protector. Vide part III. section I.

Henry,
Cromwell,
fourth son
of Oliver,
lord pro-
tector.

4. Henry, who became lord deputy of Ireland. Vide part IV. section I.

James
Cromwell,
fifth son of
Oliver, lord
protector.

5. James, so named from his maternal grandfather, sir James Bouchier; he was baptized january 15, 1631-2, at St. John's church, in Huntingdon, where he was buried the 19th of the same month.

Bridget
Cromwell,
eldest
daughter of
Oliver, lord
protector.

6. Bridget, who was baptized at St. John's church, in Huntingdon, august 5, 1624; she was

* Whitlock's memorial.

twice married, first to Henry Ireton, lord deputy of Ireland, who is so well known for his republican principles, and the great share he had in the distractions of his country; to this gentleman she was married about 1642, and he dying in november, 1651 *, her father, who had given her to Ireton for motives of interest, now disposed of her hand to lieutenant-general Charles Fleetwood, as he bore, from his property of praying, no small influence in an army composed of puritanic bigots; Oliver generally made his domestic concerns subservient to his ambitious purposes; this last husband was also lord lieutenant of Ireland, and afterwards general of all the british forces; unfortunately for her, Fleetwood had not the abilities of her first husband, which gave her much concern; as she saw with regret, the ruin his conduct must bring upon herself and children.

She had imbibed, from Ireton, so strong an antipathy against the government of a single person, that she could not even bear to hear of the

* Vide. no. 25, the life of lord deputy Ireton, and his descendants, and no. 26, the singular character of mrs. Bendish, his daughter, in the history of several persons and families allied to, or descended from, the protectorate house of Cromwell,

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector,

title of protector, though it was held by an indulgent father, and a beloved brother; this the former knew with concern; she was a person of very good sense, regular in her behaviour, and very serviceable to her last husband, by advising him what steps to take; and would have been more so, had he placed greater reliance in her opinion, which is well known to have been much superior to his. She lamented to Ludlow his situation with tears, after the imprudent quarrel between the restored long-parliament and the army, and intreated that gentleman to remain in England, to endeavour to compose the breach: probably her good sense suggested, that these animosities must end in restoring the king, the most unfortunate event that could happen to herself and family, and which soon after took place. She did not long survive the reverse of fortune, which, with the loss of her dear commonwealth, lay so heavy upon her mind, as soon occasioned her death; but at what particular time, is not, I believe, known*. She was early addicted to enthusiasm.

* Vide the life of general Fleetwood, and his descendants, no. 27, in the history of several persons and families, allied

thufiasm. Mr. Thomas Patient, in a letter to her father, dated Kilkenny, april 15, 1650, fays,
 ‘ I have been at head quarters, ever fince a little
 ‘ before my lady Ireton came over. I do by
 ‘ good experience find, as far as I can difcern,
 ‘ the power of God’s grace in her foul ; a woman
 ‘ acquainted with temptations, and breathing after
 ‘ Chrift*.

PART II.
 SECT. II.

Younger
 children of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

7. Elizabeth, the fecond and favourite daughter of the protector, Oliver, was chriftened july 2, 1629, at St. John’s church, in Huntingdon ; ſhe was married, before her father’s elevation, to John Cleypole, eſq. afterwards maſter of horſe to the protectors, Oliver and Richard.

Elizabeth
 Cromwell,
 fecond
 daughter of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

This lady had the elevation of mind, and dignity of deportment, of one born of a royal ſtem, with all the affability and goodneſs of the moſt humble ; ſuch a character as this deſerved, and has, I believe, eſcaped even the ridicule ſo libe-

allied to, or deſcended from, the proteſtante houſe of Cromwell, by females.

* Milton’s ſtate papers.

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SECT. H.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

rally thrown upon all of every party, during this unhappy war, one writer only excepted*.

Happiness is not sometimes the lot of the best; it pleased Providence to afflict her with the most severe disorder, with the loss of a dear child; besides which, the dislike she had to her father's conduct, and her sincere wishes to see the lawful heir to the crown restored to his rights, all conspired to distress a mind the most feeling, and then oppressed

* Butler, in his posthumous works, has ridiculed Mrs. Cleypole, with the rest of the Cromwell family, in these lines:

Yet old Queen Madge,
Though things do not fadge,
Will serve to be Queen of the May-pole;
Two Princes of Wales,
For Whitsun-ales,
And her Grace Maid-Marion Cleypole.

Mr. Thyer has explained the meaning of this in a note; In the rustic ceremony of a Whitsun-ale, besides a mock king, queen, &c. there is always a maid-marion, which is, a young woman, or a boy dressed in women's cloaths, whose business it is to dance the moreco, or morice dance.—This must have been written in the life-time of Oliver, as Mrs. Cleypole is mentioned in it,

with the most acute pains: unable to struggle against so many trials, she gave way to fate, august 6, 1658*.

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SECT. II

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

What is also generally allowed to have at least hastened her end, was the death of doctor Hewitt, who, with sir Henry Slingsby, lost his head upon the scaffold, for endeavouring to effect a revolution in favor of the exiled prince.†

The

* Oldmixon, doctor Gibbons, and Dart, by mistake, say, mrs. Cleypole died august 7, and the author of the medalla, august 8: it appears that her complaint was attended with excessive pain, and that she had several relapses; all who mention her disorder say it was inwardly, Clarendon, that it was of a nature peculiar, and which the physicians knew not how to treat; Fleetwood, that she was troubled with great pains in her bowels; and vapours in her head; the truth is, it is believed the physicians do not understand thoroughly her case; Baker's continuator calls her disorder 'an imposthume in some of her inward parts, which made her suffer a long and painful illness, and her last moments were particularly so;' Ludlow, that it was 'an ulcer in her womb;' and doctor Bates, who attended, 'an inward imposthume in her loins, with great agony and pain.'

† Dr. Hewitt was tried may 25, 1658, by the high court of justice, which, as he denied its jurisdiction (as an unlawful

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SECT. II

Younger
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Oliver, lord
protector.

The former of these unfortunate gentlemen was particularly beloved by mrs. Cleypole, and whose house she frequented to hear divine worship, according to the church of England; she therefore importuned his pardon with the greatest earnestness, and requested it upon her knees; but her father (who seldom denied her any request) utterly refused her this,

unlawful court, and established by a more unlawful power) condemned him to death.—Whitlock says, the doctor carried himself imprudently; this the author of the history of England, during the reigns of the Stuarts, in pretending to copy, says, this unfortunate divine carried himself impudently; but is this impartiality and candor? Probably Whitlock alludes to the doctor's boldly saying, that he would plead if either of the judges, or the learned counsel at law, would give it under their hands, that the high court of justice was a lawful judicatory. It is certain, that the doctor's denying the jurisdiction by which he was tried, lost him his life; as the protector thought it was striking at the very life of his government; at least, with his obstinate silence of the part he had acted in the plot, which, as the protector well knew, he insisted upon the doctor's confessing it; had he done this, and been silent about the jurisdiction of the court, he would have been pardoned, as Oliver declared to doctor Manton. It is an argument of the unfortunate divine's goodness, that those excellent ladies, mrs. Cleypole and lady Fauconberg were strenuous for his pardon, and that Prynne pleaded as his counsel.

which

which is supposed to have given her spirits a prodigious shock*.

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

It is allowed by our historians, that in the repeated conferences she had with Oliver just before her death, she painted the guilt of his ambition, in the most dreadful colours; which, says lord Clarendon, exceedingly perplexed him; and observes, that he took much pains to prevent any of his attendants hearing, yet many expressions escaped her which were heard by those near her, respecting cruelty and blood; and she was particular in mentioning the death, say they, of her pious pastor; the near approach of her dissolution giving her, she supposed, liberty to say what formerly she thought, yet durst not then express†.

* It may reasonably be supposed, that doctor Hewitt's death was sensibly felt by mrs. Cleypole; but it appears, that she rejoiced in the discovery of that plot for which he died, so that, probably, her excess of grief is somewhat heightened, occasioned by her dying so soon after. Vide letters CC in the proofs and illustrations.

† Bates, who must have the best information, says, that mrs. Cleypole, in ' her hysterical fits, much disquieted him,
' by

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
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protector.

‘Such a remonstrance,’ says mr. Grainger, ‘from a beloved child, in so affecting a situation, must have sunk deep into his mind; it was strongly suspected that his conscience took the alarm, and was never afterwards at rest, from that moment;’ and to this both lord Clarendon and Ludlow agree; the former says, that though he (Cromwell) did not shew any remorse, it is very certain, that ‘either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully;’ and the latter, that after mrs. Cleypole’s death, ‘it was observed, that Cromwell grew melancholly*.’

• by upbraiding him, sometimes with one of his crimes, and sometimes with another, according to the furious distractions of her disease.’

* Dr. Thomas Clarges, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, dated september 1, 1658, says, that his highness was much distempered by his late grief and melancholy, besides his other infirmities, which were a double tertian ague. Fleetwood says, in a letter to the same, that his illness was contracted by the long sickness of my lady Elizabeth, which made great impressions upon him. Thurloe’s state papers.

— This

This amiable lady died at Hampton court, amidst the prayers of all for her recovery, and her loss was lamented by the whole court, but particularly by her husband and father*.


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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

No respect whatever was omitted that could be paid to her memory; the protector ordered the body to be removed from the palace in which she died, to the painted chamber in Westminster, where it lay in state some time, and from thence was conveyed, in the night of the tenth of august, in great funeral pomp, to the dormitory of the english kings, where it was deposited in a vault made purposely to receive it: mrs. Wilkes, the deceased's aunt, walked as chief mourner†. Mr. Peck has given

* It has in the last note been seen how much the death of lady Cleypole affected her father: her husband, in one of his letters to his brother-in-law, Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, says, ' my late trials and exercise have been so sad and dismal to me, that I should almost wonder, I have thus far out-lived them.'

† It is not known how mrs. Wilkes was aunt to mrs. Cleypole; no doubt, she was the wife of colonel Wilkes, who

PART II. given us the inscription that was put upon
 SECT. II.  Mrs. Cleypole's coffin, which, as it is curious,
 Younger I have copied ; it runs thus :
 children of Oliver, lord
 protector.

Depositum

*Illustrissimae Dominae D. Elizabethae,
 nuper uxoris Honoratissimi Domini,
 Domini Johannis Claypoole,
 Magistri Equitii ;
 nec non Filiae Secundae
 Serenissimi & Celcissimi
 Principis
 Oliveri, Dei gratia
 Angliae, Scotiae, & Hiberniae,
 &c.
 Protectoris,
 obiit
 apud Aedes Hamptonenses,
 Sexto die Augusti
 anno aetatis suae viceffimo octavo,
 Annoque Domini
 1658.*

This

who was an active person during the civil wars and usurpation ; he was much trusted by the protector Oliver, who appointed

This excellent lady was, it is said, a warm partizan for king Charles I. as well as for king Charles II. it is a well known fact, that she constantly used all her influence in behalf of any who fell into misfortunes on account of their loyalty; indeed, all that were in distress partook of her pity, and very many of her bounty, which, with her munificence, rendered the very large allowance the protector settled upon her inadequate.

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SECT. II.

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children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

The faithful Whitlock gives her this amiable character, and he must have known her well:—

‘She was a lady of excellent parts, dear to her parents, and civil to all persons, and courteous and friendly to all gentlemen of her acquaintance; her death did much grieve her father*.’

appointed him one of the trustees for selling the forfeited estates of the scotch loyalists; he was one that Monk dismissed just before the restoration, as knowing him too much interested in the army to be inclined to restore the king, though the latter part of his reason was not then assigned. There were two officers of this name killed in the parliament's service, captain Wilkes, slain at Basing; another also of the same rank fell at Taunton; it is probable they might be sons of the colonel.

* It may not be improper here to give what Carrington has said of mrs. Cleypole: After speaking of the joy the

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protector.

There is a medal in silver of the lady Elizabeth, which on one side exhibits her bust, but without

conquest of Dunkirk occasioned, he subjoins, that the laurels faded, and the joys abated, by the interposing of the cy-
preis-tree, which death planted upon the tomb of the il-
lustrious and most generous lady Cleypole, second daughter
to his late highness, who departed this life to a more glo-
rious and eternal one, on the sixth day of august, this present
year; a fatal prognostication of a more sensible ensuing loss.
For even as branches of trees, being cut and lopped in an
ill season, do first draw away the sap from the tree, and after-
wards cause the body thereof to draw up and die; in like
manner, during the declining age of his late highness, an
ill season in which men usually do, as it were, reap all their
consolation from the youth and vigor of their children,
wherein they seem to go to ruin by degrees as they draw
near to their death, it unfortunately fell out, that this most
illustrious daughter, the true representative and lively image
of her father, the joy of his heart, the delight of his eyes,
and the dispenser of his clemency and benignity, died in the
flower of her age, which struck more to his heart than all
the heavy burden of his affairs, which were only as a plea-
sure and pastime to his great soul. So great a power hath
nature over the dispositions of generous men, when the tie
of blood is seconded by love and virtue. This generous
and noble lady Elizabeth, therefore, departed this world
in despite of all the skill of physicians, the prayers of those
afflicted persons whom she had relieved, and the vows of
all kinds of artists whom she cherished: but she died an

amazonian-

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Oliver, lord
protector.

without any inscription; it shews the profile of a very handsome woman, with a commanding, yet obliging countenance, such as bespeaks a great and affable person; it is highly relieved, and in a fine taste; the medal is become very scarce, and has, for that reason, been lately restored. Mr. Theobald, in 1728, shewed the society of antiquaries a medal in gold of her's, modelled by

'amazonian-like death, despising the pomps of the earth, and
'without any grief, save to leave an afflicted father, perplexed at her so sudden being taken away; she died with
'those good lessons in her mouth, which she had practised
'whilst she lived. And if there be any comfort left us in
'her death, it is in the hope we have, that her good example
'will raise up the like inclination in the remainder of her
'sisters, whom heaven hath yet left us. I shall not at all
'speak of her funeral, for if I might have been credited,
'all the Muses and their god Apollo, should have made her
'an epicedium, and should have appeared in mourning,
'which should have reached from the top of their mount
'Parnassus to the bottom of the valley thereof.' He adds, that 'if this great personage's death received not the funeral
'rites which all great wits were bound to pay it, the martial men did evidence, that the neglect did not lie at their
'doors, in revenge for the loss of their english Pallas,
'and of their Jupiter's daughter.' This is indeed hyperbolic, but the truth is easily traced in the panegyric.

PART II. Abraham, and finished by Thomas Simons,
 SECT. II. whose initials were over it*.

Younger
 children of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

Mary
 Cromwell,
 third daugh-
 ter of Oliver,
 lord protec-
 tor.

7. Mary, the third daughter of the protector Oliver, was baptized february 9, 1636; she became the second wife of Thomas viscount (afterwards earl) Fauconberg; a nobleman of very amiable manners, and enterprizing genius.

This marriage was brought about by her father, after a short courtship; the marriage was publicly solemnized at Hampton-Court, upon thursday, november 18, 1657†, by one of the protector's chaplains; but the same day they were privately married, according to the form prescribed by the church of

* Snelling's engravings of medals, and Virtue's engravings of the works of Simons.—Vide life of the lord Cley-pole, master of horse, no. 28, in the histories of several persons and families allied to the Cromwells by females.

† Lord Clarendon says, lady Fauconberg was married at Whitehall; but Thurloe, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, says, Hampton-Court; as does Wood and others.

England,

England, by doctor Hewitt, with the privity of the protector, who pretended to yield to it, 'in compliance with the importunity and folly of his daughter*.'

PART II.
SECT. II.

Younger children of Oliver, lord protector.

If we credit the following anecdote, we must suppose his highness rather made this alliance with his lordship for his own convenience, than from studying the entire felicity of his daughter.

I will give it in the language of my author: 'Jeremy White was Oliver's chaplain, and he was, besides, the chief wag, and joker of

* Doctor Hewitt is also said to have married the protector's younger daughter, and probably both of them with the entire approbation of their father, who might be fearful, if any revolution should take place, and his family suffer a reverse of fortune, the husbands of his daughters might wish as much for a separation, as they then courted the honor of their alliance; perhaps Oliver was of the same opinion as Marshall, an independent minister, who gave for the reason of his marrying his daughter with the ring and common prayer-book, that 'the statute for establishing the liturgy was not yet repealed, and he was loath to have his daughter whored and turned back upon him for want of a legal marriage.'

PART II.
SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

his solemn court. As the protector condescended to be very familiar with Jerry, he said to him one day, "You know the viscount Fauconberg," "perfectly well," said Jerry,— "I am going to marry my daughter Mary to him. What do you think of the matter?" "I think sir," said Jerry, "Why I think he will never make your highness a grandfather."—"I am sorry for that Jerry; how do you know?" "Sir," said Jerry, "I speak in confidence to your highness, there are certain defects in lord Fauconberg, that will always prevent his making you a grandfather, let him do what he can." As this discovery was not made to the young lady, but to the old protector, it did not at all retard the completion of the match, which Oliver found, in all outward respects, suitable and convenient; so he left the lord and lady to settle the account of defects as they might. Not long after, Oliver, in a bantering way, told the whole secret with which White had intrusted him, before company, which lord Fauconberg turned off with a joke as well as he could, whilst his heart in

secret

' secret was waxing exceeding wroth against
 ' Jeremiah the prophet. Instigated by this
 ' wrath, lord Fauconberg sent a message next
 ' day to Jerry, to desire his company; with
 ' which invitation Jerry immediately complied,
 ' never suspecting that Oliver had betrayed
 ' the secret. Lord Fauconberg received him
 ' in his study, the door of which he first
 ' locked, and then with much anger in his
 ' countenance, and a stout cane in his hand,
 ' he accosted Jerry—"You rascal, how dare
 " you tell such mischievous lies of me as
 " you have done to the protector, that I
 " could never make him a grandfather, &c.
 " I am determined to break every bone in
 " your skin. What can you say for yourself?
 " What excuse can you make?" All this
 ' while the cane kept flourishing over Jerry's
 ' head; who, instead of a day of dainties,
 ' which he hoped to find at my lord's table,
 ' would have been glad to save the drubbing
 ' on his shoulders, by going away with an
 ' empty belly. "What can you say for your-
 " self?" cried lord Fauconberg.—"My lord,"
 ' said Jerry, "you are too angry for me to

 PARTH.
 SECT. II.

 Younger
 children of
 Oliver, lord
 protector.

PART II.
SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

“hope for mercy, but surely you can never
“be too angry to forget justice; only prove,
“*by getting a child*, that I told the protector
“a lye, you may then inflict the punishment
“with justice, and I will bear it with pa-
“tience; and if you want exercise for your
“cane, you may lay it over the protector’s
“shoulders, if you please, for betraying me.”
“—My lord, who knew in his conscience that
“Jerry had told only an unseasonable truth,
“laughed, and forgave him*.”—What truth
there is in this, I will not pretend to say; but
for the credit of his lordship’s manhood, I
must declare, that this lady was once in a
likely way of being, if not actually a mother†;

* Hughes’ letters.

† I think it plain, from part of a letter sent by lord
Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland,
dated from Whitehall, february 26, 1657, that her lady-
ship was once in the increasing way, which certainly entitled
Jerry to a bastinadoing; the letter runs thus: ‘My lord,
‘this place is at present distract with the death of mr. Rich,
‘especially my dame, *whose condition makes it more dangerous than*
‘*the rest*’; and he abruptly breaks off—‘My lord, I am just
‘now called to my poor wife’s succour, therefore I must
‘humbly intreat your lordship’s leave to subscribe myself,
‘sooner than I intended, my lord, your lordship’s, &c.’

but

but it is certain; that if she had a child, it died an infant.

PART II.
SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

She sympathized in all the misfortunes of her family, but particularly in the death of her father, and the disgrace of her brother; both of which was severely felt by her: she saw the consequences that the former would bring with it, and to a mind so susceptible of noble ideas as her's, it was a shock scarcely to be supported. Lord Fauconberg, in a letter to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of Ireland, dated september 7, 1658, speaking of the grief of the family for the loss of the protector Oliver, adds, ' my poor wife, I know ' not what in earth to do with her; when seemingly quieted, she bursts out again into passion, that tears her very heart to pieces; nor ' can I blame her, considering what she has ' lost.—It fares little better with others;' and in a letter written after the other, when it might have been supposed that the edge of her grief was worn away, his lordship says to the lord deputy, ' my lord, your sister is weeping so extremely by me, that I can scarce ' tell

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

‘tell you in plain terms, that I am going eighty miles out of town to-morrow.’ It was said upon the resignation of Richard, that ‘those who wore breeches deserved petticoats better; but if those in petticoats (meaning her ladyship) had been in breeches, they would have held faster.’

Inclination and policy made her contribute to the restoring monarchy after the sovereignty had been taken from her family, and which, from her abilities and station, she happily had in her power to do.

A nobleman, who had a little mind which always rejoices in insulting fallen greatness, thinking to cast a reflection upon her, from her father’s body being indecently exposed upon a gibbet after the restoration, had the rudeness, as well as inhumanity, to say, in the royal presence, ‘Madam, I saw your father yesterday. What then, sir? He stunk most abominably. I suppose he was dead then?’ ‘Yes.’ ‘I thought so, or else I believe he would have made you stink worse.’ This is told rather differently by another author.

* Grainger’s biographical history. The author of the history of England, during the reigns of the Stuarts, says,
that

She openly professed her attachment to the church of England, after the restoration of monarchy and episcopacy; she certainly always regarded it as the most perfect religion*. Her ladyship died march 14, 1712.

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

Having no child, she had always been kind to all parts of her family that had experienced pecuniary difficulties; nor did she forget any of them in her will.

There is nothing in the character of this lady but what shews her to be both 'a wise and worthy woman†.'

that it was a cavalier who insulted lady Fauconberg, and that it was said to her in the park, which I think is most probable.

* Grainger's biographical history of England. This gentleman was informed, that lady Fauconberg attended constantly divine worship according to the established religion of the kingdom, when in London, at St. Ann's church, Soho, and when in the country, at Cheshwick. Before her death, it appears, she lost much of her reverence for her father's memory, regarding him, probably, as an usurper and an hypocrite, as well as a tyrant. Vide the life of mrs. Bendysh.

† Bishop Burnet's history of his own times.

Grainger

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

Grainger says, it is hardly to be credited, that though she was handsome, yet she greatly resembled her father in person: this is corroborated by dean Swift, who knew her ladyship, by his saying, that she was extremely like the pictures he had seen of her father; and it is evident by comparing her busto (given by Peck in his life of the protector) with the portraits of him: in the decline of life she was pale and sickly*. Mr. Panton has a portrait of lady Fauconberg, when a child.

Frances
Cromwell,
fourth
daughter of
Oliver, lord
protector.

8. Frances was the fourth and youngest daughter of the protector Oliver, where she was born is not known: perhaps at Cambridge.

This lady had the honor of two suitors at one time, very opposite in title, though not in disposition; his majesty king Charles II. and Jerry White, Oliver's chaplain; neither of them were disagreeable to her; the first on account of his eminent rank, the latter for his gallantry and good humor; as the former was the most honorable lover, I shall first mention his pretensions.

* Vide the life of lord Fauconberg, no. 29, in the history of several persons and families allied to the protectorate family of Cromwell by females.

Lord

PART III.
SECT. II.2Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

Lord Broghill (afterwards earl of Orrery) who might be properly called the common friend of king Charles and the protector, endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them, by the former's marrying this lady, to which not only the king, but also she herself, and her mother, gave their assent; but as it was a delicate point to obtain Oliver's concurrence, it was not thought advisable to be too precipitate, but to let the report circulate abroad before it was mentioned to the protector: when it was judged proper to be broke out to him, Broghill went as usual to the palace, and being introduced to his highness in his closet, he asked, 'Whence he came, and what news he had brought?' his lordship replied, 'From the city, where I have heard strange news indeed!' 'Ah! What is it?' 'Very strange news indeed!' 'What is it?' 'Perhaps your highness will be offended.' 'I will not,' replied Oliver, hastily, 'be it what it will.' Broghill then, in a laughing way, said, 'All the city news is, that you are going to restore the king, and marry him to lady Frances.' Oliver, smiling, said, 'And what do the fools think of it?' 'They like it, and think it is the wisest thing you can do, if

' you

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

‘ you can accomplish it.’ Cromwell, looking steadfast at Broghill, ‘ Do you believe so too ?’ who finding the proposal pleasing to him, went on, ‘ I do really believe it is the best thing you can do, to secure yourself.’ The protector, walking about the room with his hands behind him, in a musing posture, turned about to his lordship, ‘ Why, do you believe it ?’ Upon which he endeavoured to convince Oliver of the expediency and necessity of the thing ; that nothing was more easy to bring about the restoration, and that he would have the king for his son-in-law, and, in all probability, become grandfather to the heir of the crown. To this the protector listened with attention, and traversing the apartment twice or thrice, said, ‘ The king will never forgive me the death of his father.’ ‘ Sir,’ replied his lordship, ‘ you were one of many who were concerned in it, but you will be alone in the merit of restoring him ; employ somebody to sound him upon it, and see how he will take it ; I’ll do it, if you think fit.’ ‘ No, he will never forgive me his father’s death ; besides, he is so damnably debauched, he cannot be trusted.’ His lordship was fearful of proceeding

ceeding further, and so the discourse took another turn.

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SECT. II.

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children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

Broghill did not absolutely despair yet of effecting his purpose; he therefore applied to the protectress, and the lady Frances; and after acquainting them of the ill success of his negotiation, desired them to press his highness strongly to consider of it again, which they both promised: and the former afterwards assured his lordship, that she had done it more than once; but to no purpose; for the protector never returned her any other answer than ‘the king is not such a fool as to forgive me the death of his father*.’

His

* I do not recollect where I had this anecdote from, but it has been published. There certainly was some truth in it, and perhaps it is exactly given; for, in an intercepted letter, given in Thurloe's state papers, dated from London, may 26, 1653, from W. H. to his dear nephew, there is this sentence: ‘now the fresh reports are, that its lowly spoken in the court, that he (king Charles II.) is to marry one of Cromwell's daughters, and so to be brought again to his three lost crowns.’ An alliance with the Cromwell family by the king could not, at that time especially, have been any great disgrace to the royal house of Stuart; for James the

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

His majesty being thus dismissed by old Oliver, Jerry White next paid his court to the lady, but with no better success; the pious chaplain (who ventured even to prophane the sanctified palace of Cromwell by his gallantry) carried his ambition so far, as to think of becoming son-in-law to the protector, by marrying my lady Frances.

And as Jerry had those requisites that generally please the fair sex, he won the affection of this daughter of Oliver; but as nothing of this sort could happen without the knowledge of the watchful father, who had his spies in every place, and about every person; it soon reached his ears.

There were as weighty reasons for rejecting Jerry, as there had been for dismissing his majesty: Oliver, therefore, ordered the informer to

the second's first wife was but the grand-daughter of a woman who got an honest livelihood by selling washing and grains; and those two most excellent princeesses, queen Mary II. and queen Anne, were this notable old woman's great grand-daughters. Cromwell's family was certainly far superior to that of chancellor Hyde's.

observe

observe and watch them narrowly, and promised, that upon substantial proof of the truth of what he had declared, he should be as amply rewarded, as Jerry severely punished.

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

It was not long before the informer acquainted his highness, that the chaplain was then with the lady, and upon hastening to his daughter's apartments, he discovered the unfortunate Jerry upon his knees, kissing her ladyship's hand; seeing which, he hastily exclaimed, 'What is the meaning of this posture before my daughter Frances?' The chaplain, with great presence of mind, replied, 'May it please your highness, I have a long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me.'

Oliver, turning to the waiting-woman, said, 'What is the meaning of this? he is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such;' who desiring nothing more, replied, with a low courtesy, 'if mr. White intends me that honor, I should not oppose him;' upon which Oliver

Vol. I. Q said,

PART II.
SECT. II.

Younger
children of
† Oliver, lord
protector.

said, ' Well, call Goodwin, this business shall be
' done presently, before I go out of the room.'

Jerry could not retreat; Goodwin came, and they were instantly married; the bride, at the same time, receiving five hundred pounds from the protector*.

It was also supposed that Oliver would give one of his daughters, probably this, to the duke of Enguien, only son of the prince of Conde, then in disgrace at the french court, and that a part of the Netherlands was to be conquered, and given him in sovereignty, which alarmed both France and Spain; but this was not judged prudent by Oliver, it was too romantic; perhaps it was only to amuse that prince, and frighten the kings†, as it would

* Mr. Jerry White lived with this wife (not of his choice) more than fifty years. Oldmixon says, he knew both him and mrs. White, and heard the story told when they were present, at which time mrs. White acknowledged ' there was something in it.'

† In Thurloe's state papers, in a letter of intelligence, dated from Paris, january 14, 1654, from J. B. in which he

says,

would have been highly displeasing to the republicans in England.

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SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

The lady, disappointed in her father's rejecting kings, princes, and prophets, permitted the addresses of an amiable young gentleman, the honorable Robert Rich, esq. grandson and heir to Robert, earl of Warwick, and that without the knowledge of her father.

This alliance met with innumerable difficulties; one great reason why Oliver objected to it was,

says, 'his correspondent told me this day, that it is reported that the duke d'Enguien, the prince of Conde his only son, is to marry your protecteur his daughter; and that socours is to be sent from thence to that prince. It is certane, that the before said peace' (the dutch) 'will be most unfavory newes here—in another letter, bearing date january 17, 1654, at Paris, from the same writer, 'monf. Petit, he says, that the report of the marriage of one of the daughters of his highness my lord protector, with the duke of Enguien, son to the prince of Conde, seems to have alarmed that court.' It appears, that the duke of Buckingham had been looked upon as an eligible match for one of the protector's daughters.--From an intercepted letter written to lord Fairfax, in 1657, after his daughter's marriage to his grace, 'that none of the council seemed to dislike it, but such who pretended their opinion to be, that the duke would be a fit match for one of the protector's daughters.'

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probably, having engaged her in marriage to John Dutton, esq.* who was bequeathed to lady Frances by his uncle, John Dutton, of Sherborne, in Gloucestershire, esq. one of the richest

* John Dutton, esq. was one of those who smarted under king Charles the first's government, having been imprisoned at Gloucester for refusing to contribute to the loan; this, without his great fortune, was sufficient to procure him a seat for his own county of Gloucester, in 1640; but perceiving that the popular party were more engaged to overturn than establish the constitution, he retired to Oxford, and sat in the common's house there, for which he was set down a delinquent, and fined 5216l. 4s. but when Oliver was established, he easily passed his allegiance to him, perhaps from hatred to a republic, for he was one of the meekest, as well as richest, subjects in England. Sir Ralph Dutton, his younger brother, and father of the gentleman bequeathed to lady Frances, died before his brother: he was gentleman of the privy chamber extraordinary to king Charles I. and high sheriff of Gloucestershire, in 1630; for his loyalty to his prince, he was stripped of his fortune, and intending to get to the continent, embarked on board a vessel going from Leith to France, was beat back, and by contrary winds cast on Brunt island, where he died, 1646: he left William and Ralph, the former of whom was to have been the protector's son-in-law; disappointed in not having lady Frances, he married Mary, daughter of John lord viscount Scudamore, and relict of Thomas Russel, of Worcester-shire, esq. he was high sheriff of Gloucestershire, 1667; his only son dying before him, Ralph, his brother, succeeded him in his estates, and was created, 30 Cha. II. a baronet.

men

men in the kingdom; who, by his will, dated
 january 14, 1655, and proved june 30, 1657,
 left this bequest, ' I humbly request and desire,
 ' that his highness, the lord protector, will be
 ' pleased to take upon him the guardianship and
 ' disposing of my nephew William Dutton, and
 ' of that estate I by deed of settlement hath left
 ' him, and that his highness will be pleased, in
 ' order to my former desires, and according to
 ' the discourse that hath passed betwixt us there-
 ' upon, that when he shall come to ripeness of
 ' age, a marriage may be had and solemnized
 ' betwixt my said nephew, William Dutton, and
 ' the lady Frances Cromwell, his highness's
 ' youngest daughter, which I much desire, and
 ' (if it take effect) shall account it as a blessing
 ' from God.' Lady Frances and mr. Rich, not-
 withstanding this and other impediments, over-
 came all difficulties, but not without great trou-
 ble, as you will see in a letter from lady Mary,
 her sister, to Henry Cromwell, lord deputy of
 Ireland; but as it is too long for insertion here, it
 is given in the proofs and illustrations*; the

* Vide letters II in the proofs and illustrations.

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SECT. II.

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children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

same reason induced me also to place a paper there, relating to the settlement upon the marriage*, and the certificate, that the wedding was duly performed, according to the forms then in being†; it is sufficient here to mention only that the marriage was solemnized november 11, 1657, with much solemnity and splendor.

The lady's happiness, which seemed so much to depend upon the gaining this husband, was but short lived, for he was cut off soon after, dying february 16, having been married only two months; unfortunately she had no issue by mr. Rich; had he lived some time longer she would have been a countess; and had she had a son by him, the child would have inherited the title of the earl of Warwick.

She did not long remain a widow; her relation, sir John Ruffel, bart. solicited and obtained her hand; by him she had a nume-

* Vide letters KK in the proofs, &c.

† Vide letters LL in the proofs, &c.

rous family: the present baronet, sir John Ruffel, is descended from the marriage.

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SECT. II.

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children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

She had also the misfortune to bury this gentleman, not many years after their marriage; after which she had a posthumous son.

She remained his widow till her death, which was the long space of fifty-one years; unhappily for her, she saw the fine estate of the Ruffels ruined in supporting the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and by an attachment to the person of a monarch, who made but poor returns for so generous an assistance; the ample jointures she enjoyed were sufficient to have enriched her family, had they been managed with discretion, which it is probable they were not; frugality, how necessary soever, was seldom or never adopted by any of her family, and, we may presume, was unknown to her.

She died january 27, 1720-1, at the very advanced age of eighty-four, after surviving

PART II.
SECT. II.

Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

all her brothers and sisters*: it is extraordinary that we know so little of this lady after she became a wife, as during so many years, many peculiar circumstances must have arisen well worth noticing, in the daughter of Cromwell, and one to whom a mighty monarch paid his addresses†.

She certainly was an amiable and accomplished lady: sir Richard Baker's continuator, speaking of Oliver's daughters, says, 'these ladies are so virtuous they deserve a better

* None of the writers of the history of the Cromwell or Ruffel family, have been able to ascertain the time of the death of lady Frances Ruffel; I discovered it in Pointer's chronological history of Great-Britain, but I could not learn where she was buried; I had once supposed that a neat monument, erected against one of the walls in the chancel of Barwell church, in Cambridgeshire, was to her memory; but the date of the monument does not agree with that of her death. The conciseness of the inscription led me to suppose it respected this lady.

† Doctor Smollet knew so little of the protector's family, that he says, his fourth daughter 'lived in a state of celibacy.'

'father;'

‘father;’ and the author of the history of England during the reigns of the Stuarts, assures us, that all of the protector’s daughters were admired, beloved, and esteemed for ‘their beauty, virtue, and good sense;’ and it is observable, that they were all of them attached to the royal family, except the eldest, who was a severe republican.—Mr. Hollis, as appears by ‘his life,’ was in possession of a portrait of the lady Frances, Walker pinxit, circa. ann. 1656; representing her sitting, with pigeons upon a table.

PART II.
SECT. II.

~
Younger
children of
Oliver, lord
protector.

After Oliver was declared protector, his daughters resided chiefly in apartments of one of the palaces, and such attention was paid to them by foreign princes and states, that their ambassadors constantly paid their compliments to these ladies, both when they came into, or left the kingdom,

PART

P A R T III.

S E C T I O N I.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
Lord protec-
tor.

THE reader has seen one of the Cromwells, by an unparalleled revolution, ascend the throne of these kingdoms; he will here be presented with another, who, though he peaceably succeeded to the same grand elevation, fell from the giddy dream of grandeur, and left *'not a wreck behind'* to any of his name or kindred.

Richard Cromwell, the third, but eldest surviving son of the protector Oliver, was born at Huntingdon, october 4, 1626, and baptized at St. John's church, in that town the nineteenth of the same month; probably his uncle, Richard Cromwell, esq. was one of the sponsors, and gave him his christian name.

He received his education, at least the latter part of it, with his brothers, Oliver and Henry, at Felsted, in the county of Essex, where he was sent, that he might be under the eye of his maternal grandfather,

grandfather, mr. John Bouchier, who resided at that place*.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

May 27, 1647, he was admitted to the society of Lincoln's Inn, having then nearly completed his twenty-first year; mr. Thurloe (so well known afterwards as secretary of state to both his father and himself) was one of his securities†.

Whilst he was here, he took no great pains to gain a knowledge of the law, spending his time chiefly in the pursuits of pleasure‡; and it is remarkable, that when the nation was torn in pieces by faction and civil war, he lived, inactively, in the temple; and what is still more observable, when his father was fighting the battles of the parliament, he was the companion of the most loyal cavaliers, and frequently drank health and success to the arms of the sovereign whom his

* History of the county of Essex, given in a survey of England and Wales.

† Sir James Barrow's anecdotes of the Cromwell family.

‡ Several lives of the protector Oliver.

father

PART III.
SECT. I.Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

father was dethroning* ; and when that unhappy monarch was condemned to die, he was so struck with horror for his approaching fate, that he threw himself upon his knees, and pleaded the cause of fallen majesty ; but the dye had been some time cast, and Oliver was inexorable to the tears and earnest entreaties of this his child†.

Soon after that melancholy catastrophe, he obtained, by the eminence to which his family was rising, a very eligible marriage with Dorothy, eldest daughter of Richard Major, of Hursley, in the county of Hants, esq. with whom he had a very considerable fortune. The whole of this negociation is inserted in another place‡.

After his marriage, he retired to Hursley, where he resided, and became quite the country gentleman, indulging himself in all the rural sports of the age, such as hunting, hawking, &c.

* Richard's usual toast was, I drink the health to our landlord, and this also after the king's decapitation.

† Biographia Britannica, article Oliver Cromwell.

‡ Vide letters MM in the proofs and illustrations.

and

and whilst here he did not depart from his former loyal principles, having the same attachment for the son as he had born to the father, and used all his endeavours to serve such of the loyalists as fell into inconveniences on that account *; he was also still inattentive to the public concerns, very uxurious, and not very frugal in his expences†.

PART II.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

In this happy retirement he lived for some time, but upon his father's advancement to the protectorate, he was made first lord of trade and navigation, november 11, 1655‡, and in august, 1656, he was returned one of the county members for Hants.

In august, 1657, he had a narrow escape from being crushed to death, by the giving way of the stairs of the banqueting-house, when the mem-

* Several histories of England.

† Vide letters NN in the proofs and illustrations, in which is given seven letters, written by the protector, to his brother-in-law, Major, in all of which, except the last, there is something of Richard's expensiveness, or his little inclination to business.

‡ Heath's chronicle.

bers

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bers of parlement were going to pay their respects to Oliver; he had some of his bones broken by the accident, but youth and a good constitution soon got the better of it*.

The protector having resigned the chancellorship of Oxford, July 3, 1657, the university, to shew their regard for the family of their sovereign, elected Richard for his successor, the eighteenth day of the same month; he was installed at Whitehall upon the twenty-ninth following; and to do him still greater honor, he was at the same time created a master of arts, in a convocation of doctors and masters of the university, assembled at the palace for that purpose†.

Soon

* Heath's chronicle, and Thurloe's state papers.

† Wood's Fasti. Neal's history of the puritans, and several other writers. When Richard was elected chancellor of Oxford, doctor Owen was removed from the vice-chancellorship, and doctor John Conant placed in his room; after he was protector, both Owen and Goodwin were deprived of St. Mary's: it is probable, that the protector did not regard them from their over sanctity. Owen, upon his being deprived of St. Mary's pulpit, highly resented it, and determined

Soon after he was sworn a privy-counsellor, made a colonel in the army *, and set at the head of the new made house of lords, and entitled, the right honourable the lord Richard, eldest son of his serene highness, the lord protector.

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lord protector.

Oliver was very cautious in bringing his son into any place under his government; for fear of alarming the republicans, who could not think of seeing that office made hereditary; besides, many of the leading men of that party raised their expectations so high, as to think of suc-

determined to set up a lecture in another church, saying, 'I have built seats at Mary's, but let the doctor find auditors, for I will preach at Peter's in the east.' These very devout and heavenly men were great boasters of their own holiness; they unsainted the apostles, to give that appellation to themselves. These saints were not without revenge, for Owen was a principal in depriving Richard of his power. Goodwin blasphemously said, in a prayer at Whitehall, after Oliver's death, 'thou hast deceived us, and we are deceived,' because they had prophesied, that Oliver would not die that illness.

* An intercepted letter, in Thurloe's state papers, says, that Richard was declared generalissimo of all his father's forces a few weeks before his death; but, probably, it was only a report.

ceeding

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ceeding to it; this is probably the principal reason why Richard was never preferred to any place in the army, or at court, till his father was more solemnly inaugurated and confirmed in his protectorship*; when he went as far, perhaps, as he durst, without divulging his intention of declaring him his successor.

He is generally represented as dissatisfied with his father's grandeur, as not thinking it built upon a good foundation†; however that was, he

* It is certain, that Oliver amused the principal persons in the army with an idea, that he had no thoughts of raising any of his sons above the post of private gentlemen, and this he carried on for some time, for obvious reasons: in a letter to Fleetwood, so late as June 22, 1655, he says, speaking of his sons, 'The Lord knows, my desire was that both of them should have lived private lives in the country;' and this too at a time when he was meditating to raise Henry to the viceroyship of Ireland, and to bring forth his eldest to the public: to be known by, and form connexions with the leading persons of both court and army; yet he protests to Fleetwood, he has no such thoughts, and appeals to Henry for the truth of his assertion. Thurloe's state papers. This letter is mentioned in Fleetwood's life.

† Perhaps Richard, afterwards protector, was for some time less satisfied with his father's grandeur, and of its permanency

he did not hesitate a moment in accepting of his honors, when he was declared his successor; the splendor of sovereignty, perhaps, was too glittering to be resisted.

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lord protector.

It is not my intention to write the history of these nations during his government, which lasted only seven months and twenty-eight days; when, from his little experience, the ambition and perfidy of many of his relations, his delicacy in not sacrificing even an individual to his safety*, the faction of the independent ministers†, his consenting to dissolve a parliament which

manency, from the prediction of John Heydon, one of the pretended astrologers, who foretold, that Oliver would infallibly be hanged; but as he outlived the time appointed for that ceremony, it might remove his apprehensions.—Had Richard and Thurloe, when they went to consult the wizard in person, instead of disguising themselves as cavaliers, waited upon him as the son and secretary of the protector, they would have received a very contrary answer.—Grainger's biography.

* Vide letters OO in the proofs and illustrations.

† Dr. Owen, who was at the head of the independent ministers was invited, with doctor Manton, by the junto
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which was devoted to his interest, a mutinous army, a nation distracted by faction, and an empty treasury; obliged him to resign the scepter into the hands of the republican long-parlement*: and thus fell the house of Cromwell, from the sovereignty of one of the greatest nations upon earth, to the rank of private gentleman, without the loss of a drop of human blood, though such a deluge had been shed to raise it to that height.

There are but few occurrences during his short administration, that relate to himself; the principal one is, his danger from a fall

of Wallingford-House, to assist at their consultations: the latter not going so soon as the other, heard at his entrance, a loud voice within, saying, 'he must down, and he shall down.' Manton knowing it was Owen's, and that it was spoke of Richard, refused to go in; Owen certainly might be actuated not a little by revenge; but the independents were lovers of a republican form of government.

* Bishop Burnet, in concluding the history of Richard, says, 'he had neither genius, nor friends, nor treasure, nor army to support him.' All, except the first, is certainly true, and that, perhaps, in a limited sense: he does not seem to have known the art of government; but of that hereafter.

from his horse in taking his favourite diversion of hawking; when he, through excess of eagerness in the sport, outrode his retinue, and his horse either from restiveness, or leaping short, threw him into a ditch, from which he was extricated by a countryman, before his horse guards could come up; and this, it is said, was the only time the good humoured sovereign was ever displeased with his attendants*.

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The republicans were no sooner possessed of the government, than they sent to desire him to leave the palace of Whitehall, as not thinking it safe to permit one who had been the chief governor, to continue in the residence of the ancient kings, and that too in the metropolis; they also, to shew that they were possessed of the sovereignty, ordered him to surrender up his great seal; and mr. Love, may 14, according to their commands; took it them, when it was broken in pieces†.

* Heath's chronicle.

† Journals of the house of commons.

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He at first thought of flying, for fear of the republicans, who he knew were so averse to him; but upon acquainting Fleetwood with the design, he advised him to remain, as there was no intention of taking away his life; but on the contrary, that though they had deprived him of the government, yet they would settle upon him a fortune adequate to his moderate wishes*; this probably occasioned his remaining still at Whitehall, which not pleasing the parlement, they dispatched sir Henry Vane, sir Arthur Hasilrig, mr. Scot, and mr. Ludlow, may 21, to desire him to comply with their former order, which he told them he would do with all convenient speed; but impatient to make him quit the palace, and fearful of some revolution in his favour, as degraded power is always pitied, they sent his relation, lord chief justice St. John, with another gentleman, to insist upon a positive answer, and to know whether he would acquiesce in the present proceedings; but to sweeten the message, they promised, upon his

* Orlean's revolutions in England.

compliance,

compliance, that they would provide for the payment of his debts, and procure an honorable subsistence for himself and family*; upon which he sent a submission in writing, promising not to disturb their government†, and with it a schedule of his debts‡.

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The house having read both, were satisfied, and agreed to take upon themselves the payment of his debts, to the amount mentioned in his schedule, upon condition that he should peaceably leave Whitehall, and dispose of himself as his private occasions required, and to further encourage him to do this, they took him under their protection, and referred it to the committee for inspection of the treasury, to state the debt, and think of the best manner of paying it, and report it to the house; which having done, it was resolved, that twenty thousand pounds should be advanced him for his present occasions, and to defray

* Journals of the house of commons.

† Vide letters PP in the proofs and illustrations.

‡ Vide letters QQ in the same.

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the expences of his removal, and the council of state were to see it paid*; it was likewise resolved, that a committee should be appointed to consider of the most eligible manner of settling a comfortable and honorable subsistence upon him; and his uncle, Jones, was desired to take care of it†.

The degraded protector at this time stood in need of the assistance of the parlement, as he now felt all the inconveniencies of the involved situation of his affairs; for the creditors to whom he was in debt for the pompous funeral of his father, became extremely clamorous, and one of them had the boldness to issue out a writ against him; and his palace was surrounded with all the bailiffs of Middlesex‡.

* Journals of the house of commons, Ludlow's memoirs, &c. the former says, the sum granted by the parlement was only 2000l. but as all the others say 20,000l. we may reasonably suppose that a cypher has been dropped in the printing.—2000l. would have been rather an affront or insult, than a service done him.

† Journals of the house of commons.

‡ Heath's chronicle.

The house not so soon complying with the desire of the army grandees (who either were, or affected to be, displeased with this slight put upon him) petitioned that the whole of his and his father's debts, contracted since december 25, 1653, should be paid; and that one hundred thousand pounds per ann. should be settled upon him and his heirs; and ten thousand pounds more for his mother; that ' a mark of the high esteem this nation hath ' of the good services done by his father, our ' ever renowned general, may remain to posterity*.'

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The parlement, frightened at this language from the army, who, they knew, wished for an opportunity to make a breach, promised to take their request into consideration, and ordered, that it should be referred to the council of state; accordingly sir Arthur Hasilrig reported to the parlement, june 4, that it was the opinion of that council, that the parlement should, by their order, be pleased to exempt

* Ludlow's memoirs, &c.

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and secure him, for the space of six months from all arrests of debt, that some method might, in the mean time be agreed upon to discharge his debts, according to the declaration of the house*.

But still as he remained in the palace of Whitehall, an order was made from a report from the council of safety, that that palace should be cleared in six days of all persons whomsoever, except such as should be allowed by parlement, and that it should be made ready for the members of the council; this, though his name was not mentioned, was done entirely with a design to oblige him to leave it; and to get him peaceably to comply, it was carried, thirty-six against nineteen, that what was due for his father's funeral should be examined by a committee, and that they should consider how it might be paid without prejudice or charge to the commonwealth; and to shew that they were willing to do it, they appointed a committee of twenty-eight

* Journals of the house of commons.

for that purpose, of which his relations Fleetwood and Walton were two, and five were a sufficient number to act; and they were ordered to meet the next day at three o'clock, in the inner court of wards*.

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Richard, as he knew the members of the house hated him, laid little stress upon their promises; and Fleetwood, who pretended a regard for the brother he had ruined, merely to intimidate the parlement, advised him upon his leaving Whitehall (which he could not, without coming to a rupture, refuse) but instead of retiring to his seat at Hursley, to go to the palace of Hampton-Court, where he some time after resided†.

This really alarmed the parlement, and was productive of consequences that might have been very advantageous to him had not the restoration taken place; for, June the sixteenth, they agreed to settle a very ample revenue

* Journals of the house of commons.

† Ludlow's memoirs.

upon

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upon him and his heirs; but it, with the conditions upon which it was given, are too long for this place*.

He remained inactive not only during the sitting of the rump parlement, but also during the frequent revolutions that followed†: some who had less to fear from his than his majesty's restoration, wished to see him again protector, especially Lambert; who, when he found his ambitious schemes ruined, anxiously petitioned colonel Ingoldsby to join in setting him upon the throne again; and this he thought the colonel would be the more inclined to do from his regard to his unfortunate relation; but Ingoldsby knew it was then too late to attempt it, and besides he had then made his peace with the king‡.

* Vide letters RR in the proofs and illustrations.

† Father Orleans says, Richard remained in the palace after his abdication, without any action, 'like a statue that makes an unbecoming ornament.' Oldmixon, I think it is, who says, he was 'left a poor, destitute, forsaken creature, in Whitehall;' and Heath, that the republican soldiers even took away the dishes going to his table.

‡ Various histories of England.

Upon

Upon the meeting of the healing parliament, when anarchy was to give way to the return of the old constitution, he retired to Hursley, and the very day the king's return was voted, he sent a resignation of the chancellorship of Oxford, as he found he could not any longer serve that university, and this he did to fulfil a promise that he had made, that he would no longer hold that place than he could do it with advantage to them; and knowing how obnoxious he must be to the exiled monarch, now coming home to possess that birth-right which his father and himself had so long withheld from him, he thought it prudent to retire to the continent*.

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It is singular that his name was not mentioned in either house of parliament; and lord Clarendon says, that he fled more for fear of his debts, than of the king; 'who thought it not necessary to enquire after a man so long forgotten†:' it is certain king Charles

* Vide letters SS in the proofs and illustrations.

† Clarendon's history of England.

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the second shewed as merciful a disposition at his restoration, as his parlement did a sanguinary one; but if he was in no danger of his life, he certainly was of his liberty; for, as he had received but little from his grant, and as no more could be expected, he had not sufficient to defray the vast sums he owed on the public account (if the expences of his father's funeral, and the sums he had laid down for the state, could be considered as such) besides great part of the property he had was such as would of course revert to the crown, or to such persons from whom it had been unjustly taken by the long-parlement, and given to his father*; he knew his
creditors

* Ludlow says, the parlement had undertaken to pay more than thirty thousand pounds, but it is uncertain whether they actually did pay the whole of that sum; and though, according to that gentleman, he was left in possession of more than eight thousand pounds per annum, besides woods, plate, jewels, and other things of value; and this, perhaps, exclusively of the addition granted him by the parlement, which would certainly revert to the crown at the restoration; yet he was far from having sufficient to support himself as a country gentleman, for great part of this eight thousand pounds per annum, was what
his

creditors would shew no delicacy, and had he been arrested for any part of his numerous debts, he could hope for no lenity from government; they would have been pleased to have seen the man they regarded as an usurper confined in a common prison, and treated with contempt; he therefore judged prudently in leaving Britain*.

As it was supposed king Charles would resent the many slights the french court had put upon

his father and himself had received from the parliament, and belonged to the marquis of Worcester, or were grants or purchases made of the ancient demesne of the crown, both of which would go again to their right owners; besides, it was incumbered with considerable debts, and the money which Oliver had lent to the Turkey and East India companies, were, together with his lands, declared forfeited to the crown; so that, from all these losses and debts, with that contracted by the pompous funeral of his father, reduced his property to very narrow limits, and probably, he had nothing whatever to subsist upon for some time, the money made of the rich family furniture and valuables excepted; for Hurstley he was not then (nor perhaps ever) in possession of, till after his son's death.

* I have no where seen when the protector Richard left England, but from what falls from Ludlow, who says, he himself embarked in the same ship that had conveyed him over; it could not, therefore, be later in 1660 than july or august, when he sailed.

him,

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him, and that it might involve the nations in a war, Richard judged it would be more safe for him to take up his residence in a place more unexceptionable than that kingdom, and fixed upon Geneva; he passed through Bourdeaux and the provence of Languedoc, and so to Pezenas, a very pleasant town, in his way to that little republic: the prince of Conti had a palace here, where he resided as governor of the province: in this place, says lord Clarendon, he (Richard) 'made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having been always of his father's and of his party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together.'-- The other told him, "that all strangers who came to that town used to wait upon the prince of Conti, the governor of that province, who expected it, and always treated strangers, and particularly the english, with much civility: that he need not be known, that he himself would first go to the prince, and inform him, that another english gentleman was passing through

" that

“ that town towards Geneva, and would be glad
 “ to have the honor to kiss his hands.” The
 ‘ prince received him with great civility and
 ‘ grace, according to his natural custom, and,
 ‘ after a few words, begun to discourse of the
 ‘ affairs of England, and asked many questions
 ‘ concerning the king, and whether all men were
 ‘ quiet, and submitted obediently to him, which
 ‘ the other answered briefly, according to the
 ‘ truth. “ Well,” said the prince, “ *Oliver*,
 “ though he was a traitor and a villain, was a
 “ brave fellow, had great parts, great courage,
 “ was worthy to command; but that *Richard*,
 “ that coxcomb, coquin, poltroon, was surely
 “ the basest fellow alive; What is become of
 “ that fool? How is it possible that he should
 “ be such a sot?” He answered, “ he was be-
 “ trayed by those whom he most trusted, and
 “ who had been most obliged by his father* ;”
 ‘ so being weary of his visit, quickly took his
 ‘ leave, and the next morning left the town, out
 ‘ of fear that the prince might know that he was
 ‘ the very fool and coxcomb he had mentioned

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* Whitlock, who so well knew Richard's history, says, that his ruin was owing to his relations.

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‘so kindly. And within two days after, the
 ‘prince did come to know who it was whom he
 ‘had treated so well, and whom before he had
 ‘believed to be a man not very glad of the king’s
 ‘restoration *.’

He did not long remain at Geneva; for it appearing that his majesty shewed but too great an attachment to a nation that were the natural enemies of his kingdoms, and had been most personally so to himself, he left the territory of that small state where he could not be unknown, and went and resided at Paris, in mean lodgings, in an obscure part of the city, and with only one servant to attend upon him †; a fine lesson, this, to arm the ambitious against fixing the mind too much upon the vanity and uncertainty of human grandeur; but here unknown, unnoticed, and under a borrowed name, with the pressures of fortune, if not poverty, he could not complain when he and his father had so long made their

* Lord Clarendon’s history of the rebellion.

† Same author and work, with doctor Gibbons, and several other authors.

sovereign live in exile, and so poor, as not to be able to keep a carriage. But what can be said of his relations and friends, that they did not assist him in his present exigency ; those who were so greatly obliged to the Cromwells, under whom they had so much enlarged their own fortunes ;—but he was in distress, and no longer a sovereign, and consequently despised and forgotten.

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In this situation he continued at Paris (except another short interval spent at Geneva for the same reasons as occasioned his going there before) until about the year 1680* ; at which time, having overcome most, if not all of his pecuniary difficulties, and knowing the unpopularity of the court, he ventured to return to his own country, and chiefly resided at a house near the church, in Cheshunt, a few miles from London, where he had, I think, an estate : here he lived under another name†, and unknown, except to a few friends ;

* London magazine for 1774.

† The name mr. Cromwell assumed, some say, was Wallis ; but more, that it was Clark ; perhaps he might (as the author of the history of England during the reigns of the Stuarts observes) use both at different times ; the reason
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friends; he indeed courted privacy and retirement, but did not live the life of a recluse, making occasional visits to his friends; but he cautiously avoided speaking of his former elevation to his most intimate acquaintance. Dr. Watts, who was frequently with him, says, he never knew him so much as glance at his former station above once, and that in a very distant manner.

One would have now thought, that he had weathered every storm, and that he would retire to the silent grave in peace, if not in happiness; but this was not the case; by the death of his only son without issue, his daughters, forgetting their duty, and even humanity, commenced a suit to obtain immediate possession, upon the presumption, that it became vested in them, though their father was then living.

The venerable old man was obliged, for this reason, to personally appear in court; the

assigned for it is, that he did not chuse to be called by his own, because of the notice people would take of him, as one who had experienced such great vicissitudes of fortune.

judge,

judge*, struck with the sad reverse of fortune, and the still more difficult to be borne, unfeeling behaviour of his daughters, in a manner that did honor to him, both as a magistrate and a gentleman: he ordered a chair to be brought into court for him, and insisted, on account of his very advanced age, that he would sit covered; when, after speaking with a becoming severity at the shameful treatment of his daughters, made an order in his favor; observing, that they might have permitted an aged parent to enjoy his rights in peace for the small remains of life.

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* It is said, that this judge was lord chancellor Cowper, but it could not be him, as that nobleman was not appointed to the office till 1714, two years after Richard's death: it is more probable to be either sir Nathan Wright, declared chancellor in 1706, the commissioners of the great seal, at the head of which was sir Thomas Trevor (a relation of Richard's) who succeeded sir Nathan in 1710, or sir Simon Harcourt, afterwards lord Harcourt, who was made lord keeper in 1710, and lord chancellor in 1713. Grainger says, it was not any of the chancellors, but the lord chief justice Holt; and from his well known accuracy, I should think him right. Sir John Holt was appointed lord chief justice of the king's bench, april 17, 1689.

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It was supposed, that Pengelly (who long after this became chief baron of the exchequer) the counsel retained by him, from his uncommon zeal for his client, and for some other reasons, now unknown, was supposed to be a natural son of his employer; and Richard's known gallantry made it the more probable; it is certain, the counsellor gained much praise from his judiciously conducting the affair*.

He enjoyed a good state of health to the last, and was so hale and hearty, that at fourscore he would gallop his horse for several miles together; in his last illness, and just before his departure, he said to his daughters, 'live in love, I am going to the God of love:' he died july 13, 1712, in the eighty-sixth year of his age; Dr. Gibbons, and the Biographia Britannia, say, at Cheshunt; mr. Neal, at Thobald's: his remains were con-

* Howling Luson's account of the Cromwell family, given in Hugh's letters, and in the London magazine.— Thomas Pengelly, esq. serjeant at law, was knighted, may 1, 1719, and was made chief baron of the exchequer, october 22, 1726, in which he was universally admired for his probity, and his equal distribution of justice.

ducted to Hursley, and deposited with funeral pomp in the chancel of that church, near to his lady.

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It is inconceivable the abuse this gentleman suffered from the cavaliers* and republicans; the former exhibited him as a subject of derision in their songs†; he has been called the meek knight‡, tumble-down dick§, queen dick¶, and such contemptuous names: one writer says, he had not one of the great qualities of his father, and hardly any of a gentleman¶; but this is

* It is a proof of Richard's goodness, that Mr. Smollet, who was so much attached to the house of Stuart, should give him an amiable character.

† Vide letters TT in the proofs and illustrations.

‡ Grainger's biography. ¶ Ibid.

§ Wood's fasti. He says there were 'rife discourses of Richard IV. but they proved no more than the story of 'queen Dick.'

¶ Oldmixon, who says, that Oliver had less affection, and the worst opinion of the capacity of Richard; than of any of his children; it would be difficult to prove the former; it is quite as true as that he never was delighted by his father for his successor, as that writer has affirmed; but if so, why did he name him such?

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only the language of prejudice and party ; he could not be expected to be conversant in public business, both from his inattention, and the little or no experience he could have, as he was almost totally excluded from the affairs of government during his father's protectorate ; his impolicy was well known to his brother ; but when we see him surrounded with traitors and enemies, upon whose friendship and fidelity he depended, it is no wonder he was unable to keep his elevated rank ; and the more so, if we believe bishop Burnet, that even his father's arts were all exhausted, and that it was supposed, that he could not have kept his place much longer ; whilst he retained his power, it was certain, he was not looked upon in that despicable light his enemies pretend ; the counties and towns ; nay, the three kingdoms strove which should be most lavish in his praises, and in professing their attachment to his government ; foreign powers also paid him their congratulations in a flattering manner ; several of our english commanders, celebrated for their skill in the military art, did not think it beneath them to accept the honor of knighthood from his hands.

It must be granted, indeed, that his knowledge of the art of government was very little, but this is no reason why his capacity should be bad; there are facts that prove the exact contrary; in his answer to the french ambassador to the condolence and congratulation which he received from him, 'he carried himself discreetly, and better than was expected;' and his speech to his parlement was undoubtedly a better than that of his chancellor Fiennes, though a person confessedly of abilities*. It has been said, that he wanted spirit and delicacy of feeling; that he tamely gave up his power, but this is certainly only popular mistake; for, when the army deserted him, except one troop of horse; seeing Whalley's regiment of horse also filing off, he opened his breast, and desired them to put an end to his life and misfortunes at once; and when the perfidious Fleetwood, Desborough, and others, endeavoured to persuade, nay, to

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* The chancellor Fiennes began his speech after the protector Richard, with this remarkable expression, 'What shall a man say after a king?' The chancellor was a good speaker, but a bad foldier.

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threaten him, if he did not dissolve his parliament; he withstood all their arguments, their threats, and solicitations, till next morning, though he had none near to support his arguments, except secretary Thurloe*.

He shewed a proper sensibility of the changeableness of the nation, when he was obliged to leave Whitehall; for giving strict orders to his servants to be very careful of two old trunks which stood in his wardrobe, it surprized a friend that was near, who asked what they contained, that he was so careful of them; 'Why,' replied he, 'no less than the

* Dr. Calamy, in his life of Howe, before his works; Balleie, in his letters, says, that to the dissolving of the parliament, Richard 'hardly he did consent.' The best advice that was given him, was to mount his horse, and appear at the head of such troops as were faithful to him, and address himself to the army; they would certainly have received him with respect, at least the common men would; but, in the various schemes offered, the important moment was lost, never to be regained: it may be well to recollect, that Richard's own relation, Desborough, told him, that if he would not dissolve the parliament, the army would pull him out of Whitehall.

'lives

'lives and fortunes of all the good people of England.'—The trunks were filled with the addresses sent from every part of the kingdom, expressing that the salvation of the nation depended upon his safety, and his acceptance of the sovereignty*; these addresses he ever after carefully preserved, and bequeathed them to his friends; it is observable, that the practice of addressing commenced on the accession of Richard.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

The republicans represented him as a man of little religion, because, when an inferior officer, that had publicly murmured at the advancement of some who had been cavaliers,

* The London magazine says, a lady in Southwark had the trunk and its contents, some years ago; the address from Huntingdon, the birth place of both the protectors, has been printed.—I have heard that miss Cromwells of Hamstead, are now in possession of the trunk, if not the addresses. It is incredible what compliments were paid to the deceased protector Oliver, his successor Richard, the mother, father-in-law, and other relations of the latter, in these addresses; no great name, in sacred or prophane history, was omitted, that could do honour to Oliver; he was compared to Moses, Zerubbabel, Joshua, Gideon, Elijah, David, Solomon, Hezekiah, Alexander, Cæsar, Constantine, &c.

and

PART III.
SECT. I.Richard
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

and was taken to Whitehall to answer the charge; the protector, in a deriding manner, said, ‘What, would you have me prefer none but the godly?’ ‘here is Dick Ingoldfby, who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before you all*.’ this case only implies, that (aware of the hypocrisy and cant of the times) he preferred one who had none of either, to those who possessed those then necessary qualifications, for he certainly was far from irreligious at this time; mr. John Maidstone, in a letter to John Winthorpe, esq. governor of the colony of Connecticut, in New England, dated at Westminster, march 24, 1659, writes, that ‘he was a very worthy person in deed, of an engaging nature and religious disposition, giving great respect to the best of persons, both ministers and others†;’ and in the latter part of his life he attended divine worship regularly every sunday‡’ He had not, says an author, ‘all that zeal for religion which was

* Ludlow’s memoirs. It certainly was bad policy in Richard, though it shewed an openness and honesty of disposition: some have not scrupled to say, that this speech occasioned, in a great degree, his being deposed.

† Thurloe’s state papers.

‡ Dr. Gibbons.

‘the

‘the fashion of the times,’ but continues this writer, ‘in the latter part of his life he had real piety * :’ he certainly was far from an austere person, even in old age ; for though he possessed gravity, he often broke through it, to give way to innocent pleasantries †.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

And it must be acknowledged, that he possessed many amiable qualifications, such as made him beloved by many, who, in the hour of his distress, would have ventured even life to serve

* Neal’s history of the puritans. It is impossible to say, what religious sentiments the protector Richard held : an old man at Hursley, who, as a tenant’s son, carried a torch at Richard’s funeral, says, that he recollects no other circumstance of him, but that his family were very regular in their attendance at church ; but the rev. S. Gauntlet informs me, that he has heard that Richard himself used to attend an anabaptist meeting at Ramsey, which is five miles from Hursley, but this information mr. Gauntlet says, cannot be depended upon ; he related this circumstance to the old person mentioned above, but could obtain no satisfactory answer about it ; he does not remember that he ever saw mr. Cromwell either at church, or any other place.

† Doctor Gibbons.

4

him ;

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

him^{*}; nor was he himself by any means destitute of friendship: he kept up a correspondence with men of his own principles to his death, and those substracted from some wild notions in religion deserving his regard, such as mr. Howe, mr. White, mr. Penn, the founder of quakerism, and others; the former had been his domestic chaplain; and when that gentleman was upon his death-bed, he went to pay him a respectful visit, and take a last farewell of him; tears were shed on both sides, and the parting was very solemn: he was, says mr. Tongue, well esteemed in his neighbourhood; and he adds, that there was no

* Among many others, lord Fauconberg, doctor Wilkins, Ingoldsbey, and Howard, were staunch friends of Richard, and would have risked even life to serve him, had he resolved not to dissolve the parlement; several of the popular ministers condoled with him, after his fall, with great humanity and regard. Vide letters VV in the proofs and illustrations.

† Doctor Gibbons. Mr. Howe was a most worthy christian, and though prejudiced against the church of England, was a meek humble man, and like Richard, given to innocent mirth; he had the boldness, when Oliver's domestic chaplain, to preach against lay teachers and fanatic prayers.

kind

kind of blemish upon his character* ; nor have I ever heard of any, except too great an attachment to the fair sex ; and a person who knew him well, acquainted Mr. Neal, that ‘ he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, and well acquainted with public affairs †.’

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

There is a great similarity in the situations of Richard the protector, and king Henry V. at their accessions, both their fathers usurped the sovereign power ‡, but their dispositions were

* Doctor Gibbons.

† Neale's history of the puritans.

‡ The protector Oliver was certainly an usurper, so were great numbers of our english kings since the conquest ; but he did not take the supreme power from the rightful owners, which many of our princes did, but then he put his sovereign to death ; he certainly was greatly accessory to it, so were several of the kings ; but he had no claim whatever, as he was not of the same family, what is it then more excusable to deprive the sovereign of life, because he is a brother or a cousin, than if no way related : if Oliver was guilty of so great a crime, so were several of our kings ; Oliver had self-defence to plead, which some of them scarcely could ; he was undoubtedly less guilty than several of them. Richard had not a single crime in his political capacity to answer for ; he was just such an usurper as lady Jane Grey.

greatly

PART III.
SECT. I.Richard
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

greatly different ; the former sacrificed relations and others to secure his government, which was no better than usurpation, and even involved another nation in blood to obtain a foreign crown : Richard would not put a single person to death to establish and secure a power, that all the nation had declared was his right ; the hero and politician will certainly applaud the king, but the philosopher and the christian will, perhaps, be better pleased with the protector.

He was blamed for not complying with the proposal of the danish ambaffador, in declaring for the king, when he could no longer be chief magistrate himself ; but the scheme was dangerous ; the time was not then ripe for that revolution which afterwards took place, though the nation in general wished for it ; even the artful perjured Monk durst not, for some time after this, declare his intentions ; and had the ambaffador's scheme miscarried, he might have been irretrievably ruined, nothing less than death would have satisfied ; it is therefore an argument of his wisdom in not giving occasion for his enemies to treat him with severity ; for by his peace-
able

able conduct 'as he had done no hurt to any
'body, so none did ever study to hurt him;' and
thus was he 'a rare instance of the instability of
'human greatness, and of the security of inno-
'cence*.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.

There are few memorials of Richard; his short government, and the disgrace of his family easily accounts for it; we have neither coin nor medal of his, which is the more extraordinary, as his father has both; and one should have supposed, an inauguration medal of him would have followed the funeral one of Oliver: but, indeed; he never was solemnly invested with the protectorate; his great seal was by the inimitable Symons, but it is only his father's, altered in a hurry; Vertue has engraven it: the following are engravings of him, and all after he became protector.

Richard Cromwell, lord protector, &c. cloak, band, &c.

Richard, lord protector, &c. Hollar, f. 4to.

Richard, &c. Guil. Haynesworth sc. h. sh.

* Bishop Burnet's history of his own times.

Richard,

PART III.
SECT. I.Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

Richard, &c. Gaimmon sc.

Richard, &c. in armour; Stent, 4to. Before

Parival's 'Iron Age,' fol.

Richard, &c. Fred. Bouttas, sc. in armour;
4to.

Richard, &c. an etching; 4to.

Richard, &c. on horseback; view of Wind-
for castle; large sheet. Stent.

Richard Cromwell, the meek knight; the
giants, Desborough and Lambert, leading him
by the arms. Frontispiece to 'Don Juan
' Lamberto; or, a comical history of the late
'times:' said to be written by Flatman.

The above is taken from mr. Grainger's
biography; since whose death, another en-
graving has been published, entitled 'Richard
'Cromwell, Protector; Walker pinxt. God-
'frey sc. 4to. published May 1, 1780, by
'Richard Godfrey, No. 120, Long Acre;' and given in the third volume of the Antiq.
Repository: he is represented profile, flowing
hair, cravat, in armour, with a scarf. His
countenance does not shew those marks of
genius, so conspicuous in the face of his fa-
ther,

ther, but he is more handsome, and has a more polished look*. The picture from which it is taken 'is painted in a masterly stile, and 'will always be considered by the connoisseur 'as good a specimen of the abilities of that 'great master! It has undergone the vicissitudes of fortune, similar to the person it represents: it seems to have passed through 'many hands, and verging on the point of its 'dissolution, was, by some charitable hand, 'taken from its original frame, and stretched 'over a new canvas, where it may possibly 'remain for many years, and pass on to its 'day of oblivion by the hand of time! The 'picture is now in the possession of mr. Thane,' and is copied in this work.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Richard
Cromwell,
lord protector.

I have been informed, that miss Cromwells have a miniature of him; there is another of

* In some of the addresses to Richard upon his accession, besides complimenting him upon the excellence of his wisdom, and the nobleness of his mind, they flattered him upon the lovely composition of his body, as if he had been another Titus, *deliciae gentis et domini Britannici*.—Heath's chronicle.

Vol. I.

R

him

PART III.
SECT. I.Richard
Cromwell,
lord protec-
tor.Dorothy,
wife of Ri-
chard, lord
protector.

him, by Cooper, in the collection at Strawberry-Hill*.

The protector Richard married Dorothy, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Richard Major, of Southampton, in the county of Hants, esq†. This lady was as unexpectedly raised to the highest elevation as her husband; it is extraordinary that we know so little of her, considering that she was, at one time, the second person in the kingdom; there is every reason to suppose that she was scarce (if ever) at court during Oliver's protectorate, and never during that of her husband; she felt the reverse of fortune in the most poignant manner, and wanted the comforts of the clergy to reconcile her to what she judged the greatest misfortune‡; amongst all the illiberal things that were levelled against the protectorate house of Cromwell, her character is almost

* Grainger's biography.

† Vide the history of the Majors, no. 35, in the histories of several persons and families allied to, or descended from the protectorate house of Cromwell.

‡ Vide letters WW in the proofs, &c,

the

the only one that scandal has left untouched ; she never (it is most reasonable to think) saw her husband after he retired to France, in 1660 ; she was married at Hursley, may 1, 1649 ; and died january 5, 1675, in the forty-ninth year of her age, and was buried in the chancel of Hursley church* : the only character that I have ever met of her (except what the protector mentions of her) is that given by mr. John Maidstone, who says, ‘ she was a prudent, godly, practical christian.’

PART III.
SECT. I.

~~~~~  
Dorothy,  
wife of  
Richard,  
lord protec-  
tor.

*The issue of the protector Richard, by lady Dorothy.*

Children of  
Richard,  
lord protec-  
tor.

1. — Cromwell, a son, born november, 1652, who was buried december 15th following, at Hursley †.

~~~~~  
Cromwell,
first son to
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

* Mr. Luson seems to hint, that the protector Richard married after lady Dorothy's death, but there is no reason to suppose so.

† All the dates of births and deaths mentioned in the history of the protector Richard's children, are taken from the register of Hursley, given in the appendix, and from miss Cromwell's tables of descent.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

Oliver
Cromwell,
second son
to Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

2. Oliver Cromwell, born at Hurley, July 11, 1656, during his grandfather's protectorate; the education of this gentleman is unknown; upon his mother's death, he succeeded, by the settlement made upon her marriage, to the manor of Merdon, at which time he was not of age by about three years; he was very active at the revolution, and would have raised a regiment of horse for the service of Ireland, if he might have been permitted to name his captains; but the cautious William, from his name, his post, and the advantages he had asked for, declined accepting the offer, as judging it imprudent to make the son of one, and grandson of another, who had sat upon his thrones too popular at such a juncture*.

In the reign of that king ' he found it necessary, on some account or other, to present a petition to parliament; he gave his petition to a friend, a member, who took it to the house of commons to present it; just as this gentleman ' was entering the house with the petition in his

† History of England during the reigns of the Stuarts.

‘ hand, sir Edward Seymour, the famous old
 ‘ tory member*, was also going in; on sight of
 ‘ sir Edward so near him, the gentleman found
 ‘ his fancy briskly solicited by certain ideas of
 ‘ fun, to make the furly, four old Seymour, carry
 ‘ up a petition for Oliver Cromwell: “sir Ed-
 ‘ ward,” says he, stopping him on the instant,
 ‘ will you do me a favor? I this moment recol-
 ‘ lect, that I must immediately attend a trial in
 ‘ Westminster-hall, which may keep me too
 ‘ late to give in this petition, as I promised to
 ‘ do, this morning; ’tis a mere matter of form;
 ‘ will you be so good as to carry it up for me?”
 ‘ Give it me,” said sir Edward: the petition

* Sir Edward Seymour was of an ancient family in the
 west of England: upon his being introduced to king Wil-
 liam, his majesty thinking to compliment him, after telling
 him he was happy to see him at the palace, subjoined, I
 suppose, sir Edward, you are of the duke of Seymour’s
 family; to which the haughty baronet replied, ‘no, sire, but
 ‘ my lord duke is of mine, the duke being a younger branch
 of his. Sir Edward was at the head of the tory and French
 interest; he was in great employments in several reigns;
 was a member in every parliament from 1661 to his death,
 and often speaker; he died february 18, 1708-9, leaving
 his family very much enriched. Vide his character in
 Mackey’s MEMOIRS.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

‘ went directly into his pocket, and he into the
‘ house. When a proper vacancy happened to
‘ produce it, Seymour put himself upon his feet,
‘ and his spectacles on his nose, and began to
‘ read, “ The humble petition of—of—of—of,—
“ the devil !” said Seymour, “ of Oliver Crom-
“ well !” The roar of laughter in the house,
‘ at seeing him so fairly taken in, was too great
‘ for sir Edward to stand it ; so he flung down
‘ his petition, and ran out directly *.’

Oliver died may 11, 1705, and was buried
with his family at Hursley, the thirteenth of the
same month ; and though he lived to be sixty-
one years of age, he never was married. Mr.
Say says, ‘ he had seen him, and that he had
‘ something of the spirit of his grandfather :’
another writer goes farther, by saying, that he
‘ had his look and genius †.’

Elizabeth,
Cromwell,
eldest
daughter of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

3. Elizabeth, born march 26, 1650 : she never
married : the last years of her life she spent in

* Mr. Luson, in Hughes’ letters, who says, he gives this
little story on common fame only.

† History of England, during the reigns of the Stuarts.

Bedford.

CROMWELL FAMILY.

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Bedford-Row, and died there april 8, 1731, in her eighty-second year; by her will she appointed mr. Richard Cromwell and mr. Thomas Cromwell her executors, and directed them to bury her remains amongst her ancestors, and desired them to erect a monument to her and their memory, by inserting their names, and the times of their deaths upon it; all which was carefully done. She was buried, april 18, following her death*.

PART III.
S E C T. I.

Children of
Richard
lord protec-
tor.

4. Ann Cromwell, born july 15, 1651; died the 12th, and buried march 16, 1651-2, at Hursley.

Ann Crom-
well, second
daughter of
Richard
lord protec-
tor.

5. Mary Cromwell, born feb. 28, 1653-4; died the 24th, and buried at Hursley, september 26, 1654.

Mary
Cromwell,
third daugh-
ter of Rich.
lord protec-
tor.

6. ——— Cromwell, a daughter, born may 17, 1655, and buried at Hursley the twenty-ninth of the same month.

——— Crom-
well, fourth
daughter of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

* Vide the inscription upon her monument, given in the appendix, with the register of Hursley.

R 4

7. Dorothy

PART II.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

Dorothy
Cromwell,
fifth daugh-
ter of Rich.
lord protec-
tor.

7. Dorothy Cromwell, born September 13, 1657; died September 13, and was buried the 16th, 1658, at which time her father was protector; but her remains were laid by her relations at Hursley, in a private manner, and not deposited at Westminster, as several of them were, and that in a pompous manner; Richard had ~~felt~~ the weight of one public funeral, which was more than sufficient.

Ann Crom-
well, sixth
daughter of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

8. Ann Cromwell, born March 27, 1659, during the administration of her father; she was married to doctor Thomas Gibson, physician general of the army, a native of Westmoreland; he was uncle to doctor Edmund Gibson, bishop of London, the editor of Camden, and the supposed author of the 'life of Oliver Cromwell.' She survived her husband many years, he dying in 1704. By his will he bequeathed the whole of his property to the lord bishop, after her decease; his lordship always preserved a very respectful and intimate correspondence with this lady till her death,

death*, which happened december 7, 1727, in the sixty-ninth year of her age; she was buried by the remains of her husband, in the church-yard belonging to St. George's chapel, in London†.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
lord protector.

9. Dorothy Cromwell, born the first of august, 1660; she was married to John Mortimer, esq. of Somersetshire, F. R. S. author of the whole art of husbandry, published in octavo, in 1708, and again re-published in 1765; he almost ruined himself by making experiments in that science; happily she did not live longer, dying in child-bed, may 14, 1681, aged only twenty: mr. Mortimer was twice married after this lady's death‡.

Dorothy
Cromwell,
seventh
daughter of
Richard,
lord protector.

Mr.

* Bishop Gibson's attention and constant intimacy with his aunt, daughter of the protector Richard, has been supposed the reason why the life of Oliver Cromwell was attributed to him, but as the correct Granger thinks so, no doubt ought to be entertained of it.

† Mr. Say and mr. Luson's account of the Cromwells, given in Hughes's letters.

‡ Same author.—Mr. John Mortimer was originally a merchant, upon Tower-Hill, and was the son and grandson of

PART III.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
lord protec-
tor.

Mr. Luson says, 'I have several times
' been in company with these ladies' (miss
Elizabeth Cromwell and mrs. Gibson) 'they
' were well bred, well dressed, stately wo-
' men; exactly punctilious, but they seemed,
' especially mrs. Cromwell, to carry about them
' a consciousness of high rank, accompanied
' with a secret dread, that those with whom
' they conversed should not observe and ac-
' knowledge it. They had neither the great
' sense, nor the great enthusiasm of mrs. Ben-
' dysh; but as the daughter of Ireton had
' dignity without pride, so they had pride
' without dignity.'

of Mark Mortimers, esquires; his father had a considerable
estate swallowed up in Somersetshire, by an inundation of
the sea; he married Abigail, daughter of — Walmerley,
of Blackmore, in Essex, esq.—Miss Cromwell's husband,
after her death, married first Blanch, daughter of sir James
Tippets, knight, surveyor of the navy; and lastly, Eliza-
beth, daughter of Samuel Saunders, of Derbyshire, esquire;
by his second wife he had 1. John, who died young, and
2. Margaret; by his third, 3. Samuel, who was bred to
the law; he sold Toppinghall, in Essex, to his next brother.
4. Cromwell Mortimer; 5. Thomas; 6. John; 7. Eli-
zabeth; and 8. Ann.

Their

Their usage of their father was shameful, and can admit of no excuse; after his death they sold the family estate to sir William Heathcote, bart. for thirty-four or thirty-five thousand pounds*; it should be remembered, however, to their honor, that they were kind to all those of their relations that were in indifferent circumstances during their lives, and bequeathed to each a legacy at their deaths†.

PART III.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
lord protector.

* Hughes' letters. The Hursley or Merton estate was the only one of the protector Richard's, that government could not seize upon, it being settled in jointure to his wife and her issue: it is said, that sir William Heathcote, when he purchased it, declared, that because it had belonged to the Cromwells, he would not let one stone or brick remain upon another, even in the foundations; and to perform his vow, took down the whole of the edifice. In a wall the dye of a seal was found by a workman, who brought it to sir William at Winchester, where he then resided; it was sold by him for a roman weight, it being then very rusty; but when cleaned, it was found to be the seal of the commonwealth of England; and mr. Vertue, who saw it in 1740, amongst the medals of mr. Roberts, thought it the identical seal which Oliver took from the parlement. Ant. Soc. Min. vol. IV.

† Communicated by one whose relations received the benefactions of mrs. Cromwell and mrs. Gibson.

A gen-

PART III.
SECT. I.

Children of
Richard,
Dord protec-
tor.

A gentlewoman, much in years, acquainted me, that she was with these ladies before mrs. Gibson was married, at a watering-place; when a rude person wishing to insult them, said, 'ladies your grandfather was hanged;' to which one of them instantly replied, 'but not till he was dead.'—The eldest branch of the protectorate family failed in Elizabeth, the eldest of the sisters.

PART

P A R T IV.

S E C T I O N I.

HENRY Cromwell, the fourth, but second and youngest surviving son of the protector Oliver, was born at Huntingdon, january 20, 1627; and baptized the twenty-ninth of the same month, at the church of All Saints in that place; his education was finished at Felsted school, in Essex.

PART IV.
SECT. I.

Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieutenant
of Ireland.

As soon as it was possible, his father took him into the parliament army, raised to oppose king Charles I. in 1647 (at which time he was only twenty years of age) he was become captain of the general, sir Thomas Fairfax's life-guard*.

In august, 1649, he went with his father into Ireland, to quell the roman-catholic rebellion, being then a colonel; he with lord

* Wood's Fasti, and Heath's Flagellum.

PART IV.
SECT. I.

Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieutenant
of Ire-
land.

Broghill, in april, 1650, fell into lord Inchequin's quarters, and killed one hundred and sixty of the enemy, and took one hundred and twenty foot prisoners, with their officers, and one hundred and fifty gallant horse; and in the year following, he assisted at the siege of Limerick*.

In the little, or bare-bones parlement, assembled in 1653, he was one of the members for the kingdom of Ireland†; and in the same year he was sent again into that island, to take a review of the state it was in, to discover the temper of the people, and to reconcile the minds of the disaffected to the government of his father; this was an arduous task, but he performed it to admiration; he found that the ruling powers (the republicans) had taken the most ample care of themselves, and the least of the people; and that they were so in love with their power and places, that it would be improper to permit them any longer

* Heath's chronicle.

† Various histories of England.

to remain in any post of consequence in the kingdom*; upon Ludlow, one of the most obstinate amongst them, he could make no impression†; that severe and haughty man would not stoop to promise submission to the government of one, who, he looked upon as an usurper, and betrayer of the *good old cause*, for which they had been so long fighting. It is observable, that the protector, fearful of alarming the jealousy of the republicans, by affecting state and grandeur, sent this, his son, without any other title than plain colonel Henry Cromwell, and he was attended only by one servant; however he was received there with much ceremony and respect, even by the common-wealth party; as he landed near Ludlow's country seat, that gentleman sent his coach to receive and bring him there; where he was met by his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, the lord deputy; who, with se-

PART IV.
SECT. I.

Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieutenant
of Ire-
land.

* Leland's history of Ireland.

† Ludlow's memoirs, where the reader may see a dialogue which passed at this time between Henry and Ludlow.

PART IV. veral others, came with coaches, and conducted
SECT. I. him to Dublin*.

Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieutenant of Ire-
land.

The value the people in general had for him may be known by the respect they paid him, not only in Ireland, but in England, when he returned; for when he came to Chester, many gentlemen who had distinguished themselves in favor of king Charles I. came to pay their respects to him; and amongst others, colonel Molfon or Mossion†.

Soon

* Ludlow's memoirs.—From a letter given in Thurloe's state papers, it appears, that Henry arrived in Dublin, march 8, 1653.

† Ludlow, in his memoirs, who says, that Henry, in answer to colonel Molfon's enquiry how he left Ireland, said, 'very well, only some who were in love with their power, must be removed.' Ludlow, in another place, calls him Mossion, which was certainly his name, as will be seen by the following letter, written in his behalf, by Henry, to secretary Thurloe, and is a proof of the regard he had for the colonel:

'Sir,

12th May, 1658.

'Here is a messenger on purpose from colonel Roger Mossion, of Mossion, in Denbighshire, by whom I am informed,

Soon after his return from Ireland, in 1653, he married a lady of the name of Russell, daughter of sir Francis Russell, baronet; after which he chiefly resided at Whitehall, till he was appointed lord deputy of Ireland*; but he spent

PART IV.
SECT. I.

Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieutenant
of Ire-
land.

formed, that colonel Mossion is lectured, together with such other persons in those parts, as have been officers in the late war against the parliament.

This gentleman is a person, from whom I have received many civilities in my voyages to and from Ireland; and one who hath often declared to me, that he thought it was his duty to submit cheerfully to the present government, and that he was resolved never to act against it, but to follow his private affairs, and mind the improvement of his estate, and discharge himself, as became a good subject, to his highness. I will not undertake to say he hath kept his word, or that any other obligation lies on him to keep it, more than that of a gentleman and honor; yet, nevertheless, if you have no particular matter against his person, but that he is taken only within the compass of a general rule, I would mediate so far in his behalf, as to desire you to take the best opportunity you can to get him enlarged, he being willing to give what security shall be desired for his good deportment. I remain,

Your's, &c.

* Doctor Gibbons. The doctor says, Henry was married about 1653; I presume it must be upon his return from Ireland the first time, which would, I should suppose, be in that year.

PART IV. ' colonel Mofson's, in North Wales, where the
SECT. I. ' health of his father was drank by the said

Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieuten-
ant of Ire-
land.

' colonel *.'

' The same author seems greatly hurt at his welcome reception at Dublin ; as it is the most particular account of his entering that city, it shall be given in the author's own words :—

' Upon his arrival in the bay of Dublin, the men
' of war that accompanied him, and other ships
' in the harbour, rung such a peal with their
' cannon, as if some good news had been coming
' to us ; and though the usual place of landing
' for those who come in ships of war, was near
' my house, yet he and his company went up in
' boats to the *Rings end*, where they went ashore,
' and were met there by most of the officers,
' civil and military, about the town †.'

* Ludlow's memoirs. Drinking healths at that time was looked upon as a mark of cavalierism, and consequently an heinous offence : it was pretended to be an heathenish relic, continued by antichristian popery. It is indeed a foolish and troublesome custom, and which is now leaving off, but not from a religious motive.

† Ibid.

in the whole ile of Anglesey, and requested that an order might be made to increase the number of clergy*.

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He spent some time in these western parts of the kingdom, and was constantly treated with every mark of esteem, particularly by the cavalier party, which Ludlow thinks no small crime, especially as he was again entertained at

* Thurloe's state papers. Henry, the protector's son, was inclined to gaiety in youth; but as he grew in years, something of the temper of the times seems to have softened upon him, as may be learnt from a letter to his father, dated april 15, 1650, written by mr. Thomas Patient, at Kilkenny; probably then with Henry; he says, "and commend Henry Cromwell, your sonne, to my great rejoicing, it hath pleased God, I am perswaded, to begin a work of grace in his soule: I have had great encouragement that the word of God takes greates effect upon him; he hath had inward temptations in his soule, and many words of grace made very precious and comfortable to his soule, and I watch him, and is much crying to God in secret, and very forward to propound doubts and cases of conscience betwixt him and I."—Milton's state papers.—Henry never became the wild enthusiast; his religion was an awful veneration of the Deity, soberness in his whole deportment, and an universal charity to all men. His petition in behalf of the Angleseans was highly praiseworthy.

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fore had the hardiness to petition the protector to restore their old chief governor Fleetwood*, whose narrow confined notions, and weak understanding, were more easily made subservient to their projects†.

But

* Leland's history of Ireland.

† Ludlow, whose hatred to the Cromwells will not let him speak the truth, pretends that Henry deserted the sectarian party, because the army, which was chiefly of that sort in Ireland, were averse to Oliver's taking the title of king; and that he courted the presbyterian interest, that he might get a petition signed by them, in which should be a promise to stand by the protector against all his enemies; this, however, he could not accomplish, because it was not ascertained who the enemies were: it is but justice to Oliver's memory, to give a part of one of his letters to this, his son Henry, by which it appears, that Henry wished to include all parties within his lenity, and his father seemed anxious he should; it is dated at Dublin, november 21, 1655:

— I do believe there may be some particular persons, who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to shew their discontention, as they have opportunity; but this should not make to great impressions on you. Tyme and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that, which, for the present, seems to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you;

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But Henry, by the wisdom and equity of his administration, soon procured the love of the Irish, who regarded him as a blessing; this was the sentiments of the moderate and wise of all parties; this it was that procured him a counter address to the protector, beseeching that he might be continued their governor*; and the nation was ruled with such skill by him, that it was become, from the most deplorable king-

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‘you; which I earnestly desire you to studye, and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be.’ Thurloe’s state papers.

* In a letter from the church of Dublin, dated June 3, 1656, addressed to the protector Oliver, and signed by many of the ministers, they acquaint his highness, that some persons had most maliciously maligned the lord deputy, but finding themselves detected in Ireland, they had gone to England, to serve so bad a purpose, which being known to them, they had presumed to address his highness, to express their entire approbation of his conduct, for his equal justice to all—his mercy to the poor—his charity to all good men, though they differ in religious sentiments—for the countenance he and his family give to the public worship, by his and their constant attendance—and lastly, for the countenance and encouragement that, in an especial manner, he gives to all godly ministers of the gospel. Milton’s state papers.

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dom in Europe, far the happiest of any part of the british dominions; and the most satisfied with the Cromwelian reign; for when the officers of his father's own regiment openly spoke their dislike to his government, the army, and each of the counties in Ireland, expressive of their attachment to the government, as then established, declared their readiness to oppose all who should endeavour to make any alteration in the state*.

But, amidst all this calmness, Henry's situation was the most distressing; the wild sectaries and republicans strove who should most plague him†: he had an empty treasury, a numerous set of petitioners for the lands of the subjugated people, though they had already had but too much; and what was the most grievous, no money could be procured from England to an-

* Leland's history of Ireland.

† Henry's chaplain, Stephen Charnock, B. D. of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and fellow of New college, Oxford, was of a very different stamp from these four bigotted puritans; he was learned and well qualified for his situation; he died a nonconformist, july 27, 1680, aged 52. Neale's history of the puritans.

swer the current demands of the state* ; these misfortunes rendered his situation truly pitiable ; for though, says the *Biographia Britannica*, by the protector's sending him into Ireland, and gradually advancing him to be lord lieutenant, ' he seemed to give him the preference ; yet, in reality, he used him more harshly than the other (*son*) : for, though his abilities were good, his manners irreproachable, and his submission exemplary, yet he paid no great deference to his recommendations, and allowed him far less power than could well be imagined : his letters, amongst Thurloe's state papers are nothing scarce but a series of complaints† : ' to satisfy the reader that this is a true state of the facts, I will quote a passage, or two from his letters, expressive both of his virtue and ill usage : in a letter to Thurloe, he says, ' I have done what I can, and indeed as much as in good conscience I dare ; but seeing that what is done, doth produce so much hesitation concerning mee, I am more and more inclined

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* Leland's history of Ireland.

† *Biographia Britannica*, article Oliver Cromwell.

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‘to that retirement, which I have several times
 ‘formerly mentioned*.’ Soon after writing
 this, he, in a letter to Fleetwood, speaking of
 his debts, continues, ‘I wish, for your ease
 ‘and my quiet, ’twere less, for I take no
 ‘pleasure in complaining; and am sorry, that
 ‘these grievances, amongst their other ill ef-
 ‘fects, should raise any misunderstandings
 ‘between us; the truth is, when I look round
 ‘about our affairs, I am at my wits end, and
 ‘too apt to resent things too deeply†;’ but
 his complaints meeting with no redress, he
 wrote a letter to his father, in which he insists
 upon his hardships with great deference indeed,
 but with a becoming spirit; ‘I once thought
 * (says he) that innocence and circumspection
 ‘might have prevented these suggestions; but
 ‘I find, the more I do my duty, the more I
 ‘offend those who malign me;’ and speak-
 ing of the circumscribed situation of his own

* Letter to Thurloe, dated september 16, 1657, given
 in that gentleman’s state papers.

† Letter to Fleetwood, dated december 30, 1657, given
 in the same work.

fortune,

Fortune, he continues, 'as to my estate, it is
' nothing but the parlement grant; and my
' arrears, as to what I seem to have purchased,
' I have not paid for; I bought it in terms
' dear enough, and in a fair way enough; I was
' necessitated to do what I did, not purchasing
' out of my superfluity of money I had gotten
' here; and out of the whole, as great as it is,
' I never yet saw 300l. profit, but am 3000l.
' in debt; and am in such condition upon the
' whole, that were I quit of my employment,
' I must borrow money to carry me off. This
' is true; I desire your highness to believe it*.
And just before the protector's death, he wrote
to Thurloe, expressing how much he was
plagued with the anabaptists, declaring his
wish 'to lay down his office, and retire to
' private life;' but was persuaded from his
purpose by that secretary†.

Upon his brother Richard's accession to the
protectorate of England and Scotland, he pro-

* Letter from Henry to the protector Oliver, dated
February 13, 1657-8.

† Neal's history of the puritans.

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cured him to be proclaimed and acknowledged also sovereign of Ireland, and that, as himself says, with at least as much joy as in any place in England: but he had ill returns for his care and attention; Richard durst not venture to renew his commission, but upon the terms some of his council acquiesced in; and these who were the secret enemies to the family of Cromwell, and the office of protector, confined his powers so much, that he could scarce be called chief governor; they were weak enough to suppose, that by altering the title of lord deputy to lord lieutenant, it would satisfy him; but they were much mistaken; for he greatly resented their ill usage: in one of his letters to Thurloe, he says, 'sir, I understand by your last, that the commissions are renewing, and amongst the rest mine, under a new title; truly, sir, the very thought of it puts me into confusion: you know what an intolerable life I have led here, to the impairing my health, and in perpetual anxiety and disquiet of mind; I cannot tell what vertue a bare title will have, as to the bettering my condition; I should
not

'not dare to refuse the serving his present highness, and my country, in the meanest capacity; but to be always in the fier, who can bear it?' and in another, he justly complains, that his commission was not as the other lord lieutenant's had been; and says; that 'he had a great mind not to open it;' and mentions the ill offices intended him by his enemies, and the wish there was to put him upon what is against 'his honor and conscience;' and requests, that though he has not the liberty of appointing a deputy, as all other his predecessors in that viceroyship had, that he may be permitted to come over though it should be 'for ever so short a time *.'

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The republicans, that composed part of the council, were entirely averse to it, as detrimental to those schemes they were contriving against the protector Richard; and, indeed, some of the best friends of the family were for his remaining in Ireland, as knowing his popularity there, and how deserving he was

* Thurloe's state papers.

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of it; they also thought that his recall might endanger that kingdom*; of this opinion, in particular, was lord Fauconberg, who in a letter to the lord lieutenant, speaking of his coming over, says, 'they that hate you, fear you too, and therefore oppose it: they that love you have apprehensions, that neither Ireland nor Henry Cromwell are secure, if separated; this, lord Fauconberg assures Henry Cromwell, is the only reason he can learn, that makes the protector backward in it†.'

The scene disclosing itself, he plainly perceived that his brother's government was upon the decline, both from his want of knowledge in politics, and by the envy and ambition of his relations (especially Fleetwood) and consequently was more anxious to return to England, as he supposed, that by his presence in the latter kingdom, he could ren-

* Henry himself, in some measure, inclined to this opinion at one time. Vide letters XX in the proofs and illustrations.

† Thurloe's state papers—the letter has no date.

der Richard greater service, than in remaining in Ireland; but the more Henry seemed anxious to come over, the more did the republicans strive to prevent it; they went farther, they endeavoured to asperse his character; this he highly resented, and thus expressed it in a letter to the protector, 'I find,' says he, 'that my enemies have sentenced me to an honorable banishment; I am not conscious of any crime which might deserve it, but if they can denounce judgment upon my innocence, they will easily be able to make me criminal; they have already begot a doubt among my friends, whether all be right; *but I will rather submit to any sufferings with a good name, than be the greatest man upon earth without it*.*' No words could better set forth his situation and the rectitude of his mind: finding, however, that he was not allowed to leave Ireland, he waited the result of the various intrigues that were carrying on, as he could, he said, 'do no more

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* Thurloe's state papers.

' than

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When sit still and look on* : he did not, however, cease to give his brother the best advice, in desiring him to abide by his parliament, and to keep a constant watch upon the movements of the army, who, he suspected, were meditating mischief†.

He did, however, more than he seemed here to promise that he could; for no sooner was he apprized of the tottering situation of his brother's government, first by sir Charles Coote, and afterwards by his relation colonel Henry Ingoldsby, than he paid every possible attention in putting the nation in the best state of defence, determining, if possible, to keep it from falling into the hands of the republicans; for this purpose, he sent sir Charles Coote into Connaught, lieutenant-colonel Flower into Ulster, lord Broghill into Munster, and the troops that could be most depended upon were ordered to march into

* Letter from Henry to Thurloe, given in the work last quoted.

† Neal's history of the puritans

Dublin; and the officers were summoned to a council, where it was proposed to sign a declaration, promising to stand by the protector, but this they declined, wishing to wait to see how the army in England would act*.

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The protector being displaced, Henry was desirous of keeping Ireland for his majesty, knowing that he was less obnoxious to the king than to many of the commonwealth men; the rump parliament knew this, and ordered him home, under a pretence that he might give them the state of his government;† upon his receiving these orders, he retired to the Phoenix park, near Dublin, the residence of the viceroys, leaving colonel Thomas Long in the castle of Dublin; but the commissioners, not to give him time to declare himself, sent sir Hardress Waller to surprize him; and he knowing how much the interest of the Cromwells was in the wane, made no scruple in undertaking it: Henry, apprized that it would

* Ludlow's memoirs.

† Journals of the house of commons.

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be to no purpose to make any resistance, as sir Hardress was prepared to enter the castle by a postern, submitted*; being unwilling to exasperate men (who were absolutely his masters) by an ill-timed and fruitless obstinancy.

As Rapine has mentioned this transaction somewhat different, I will transcribe it, and the more willingly, because the character he has drawn of Henry is so pleasing: ‘the parlement (says this writer) in 1659, voted that the government of Ireland should be by commissioners nominated and appointed by parlement, and not by one person; and that Henry Cromwell should be acquainted with the order, and required forthwith to repair to the parlement; he peaceably submitted, though, in all probability, if he had been inclined to resist, the new governors would have found it difficult to remove him: he was extremely beloved in Ireland, both by the army and the *english* inhabitants, having never injured any person; but, on the contrary, obliged every one, as far as lay in his power;

* Ludlow's memoirs.

but, doubtless, not thinking himself secure of success, and receiving no orders from his brother, he was unwilling to undertake so important an affair. All historians are unanimous in their praises of him, and generally believe; that if he had been protector, instead of his elder brother, the officers would have met with their match; or not attempted what they undertook against Richard *.

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The narrowness of his circumstances have been mentioned before, they were now no better; though he had been so long governor of a kingdom, he had not a sufficient sum to enable him to quit his station; and at a time too, when so many others had created large fortunes, who were only officers in the army, or inferior civil magistrates; this was greatly to his honor; the parliament; to give him no handle to remain in a kingdom, where, by his virtuous administration, he had procured so many friends, and the blessings of the whole body of the people, closed with the proposal

† Rapin's history of England.

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of Fleetwood, who, representing the pecuniary straits of his brother-in-law, requested that the sum of twenty thousand pounds should be paid him*.

After his arrival in England, and he had waited upon the parliament, he retired into the country, and sat a patient spectator of the many revolutions that presented themselves; happy in escaping from a situation, which, though glittering, never afforded him the least satisfaction: the restoration of monarchy was very acceptable to him, and in a letter he wrote to the lord chancellor Hyde, he expressed himself a sincere friend to that form of government, and to his majesty's person†. After residing at Chippenham with his father and brother-in-law, Sir Francis

* Neal's history of the puritans. It is the more extraordinary, that Fleetwood should interest himself in Henry's behalf, as he had received some very warm expostulations from him, especially one letter, given in the proofs and illustrations, marked YY. Fleetwood, as it has already been hinted, probably did not do this from generosity or regard, but for some less noble motive.

† Vide letters ZZ in the proofs and illustrations.

and

and sir John Russell, for five or six years*, he removed to his estate at Spinney-Abbey, near Soham, in Cambridgeshire (a most retired situation); this estate was worth four† or six hundred‡ pounds per annum; here he spent the remainder of his days, descending from the 'toilsome grandeur of governing men, to the 'humble and happy occupation of husbandry||'; in this employment he was discovered by his sovereign king Charles II. who in returning from Newmarket, in the month of september, 1671§, expressing his wish to call at some house and take refreshment, one of his courtiers observed, that there was a very honest gentleman in the neighbourhood, that would think it an honor to entertain his majesty, which the king was pleased with, and desired him to conduct them to his friend's seat; when they came into the farm-yard (which led to the house) one of the courtiers taking up a muck-fork, and

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land.

* Dr. Gibbons.

† Mr. Hewling Luson.

‡ Neal's history of the puritans, who says, the estate at Spinney-Abbey is copyhold. I have been told it brought to Henry Cromwell 522l. 10s. annually.

§ Dr. Gibbons.

§ Ibid.

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throwing it over his shoulders, went before mr. Cromwell, who was then in the yard, and wondering at so large a company coming so unexpectedly upon him, and still more so at this ceremony of the muck-fork; nor was the king without his surprize; What, says his majesty of fun, is the reason of this? Why, sire, says the muck-fork bearer, this gentleman, before whom I carry this implement of husbandry, is mr. Henry Cromwell, to whom I had the honor of being mace-bearer, when he was in Ireland; Charles laughed, poor mr. Cromwell was confounded; but the ease of the sovereign dissipated all disquietude; the hungry company were treated with what the hospitable Henry had, and they departed with good humor and pleasure on all sides*.

* Communicated by the rev. Edward Turner, of Burwell, in Cambridgeshire. The printed accounts that I have seen of this visit of king Charles II. to mr. Henry Cromwell say, that one of the king's attendants went before to acquaint him of his majesty's intentions, and that as Charles came in at one door, Henry went out at the other; and that mrs. Cromwell entertained the whole company with great elegance: but I have reason to suppose mr. Turner is right in his relation, because he is a very curious gentleman, resides near the place, and is some way allied to the Cromwells.

This

This truly great and good man ended his days in peace, if not in happiness; stripped indeed of all his titles*, but ever possessing that true dignity that elevates men above the common rank of mortals, and sets them often very far above those, who the sovereign or their birth have placed in a situation that only makes their faults and the weakness of their understandings more conspicuous; he died march 23, 1674, very much and very generally respected†, and was buried upon the twenty-fifth, within the communion-rails of Wicken church, close to his mother: over him is a black marble stone, inscribed,

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HENRICUS CROMWELL, de SPINNEY obiit xxiii.
die MARTII ANNO CHRISTI MDCLXXIII.
ANNOQ. ÆTATIS XLVII.

So worthy a character is an honor to any church; it is, therefore, with pleasure, I ac-

* Henry was made one of his father's lords in 1657; but as he never was in England after 1655, till his brother's resignation, he never could sit in that house. It appears that he had the power of creating knights when he was in Ireland, but, like queen Elizabeth, he was very frugal of conferring this honor, dubbing but two.

† Mr. Hewling Luson.

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quaint the reader, that he conformed to the church of England, and in that communion died*. It is almost needless, after what has been already given, to speak of the rectitude of his character, and the goodness of his understanding; but as nothing that can be produced in so good a cause should be omitted, I will give some short sketches of both, from various persons, whose judgment may be relied upon. Doctor Leland, whose history is strictly impartial, says, that ‘Henry was penetrating, just, and generous†.’ Neal, that ‘he was a wise and discreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the Irish in awe, and brought the nation into a flourishing condition’—‘and that when he was in Ireland, he behaved with such a generous impartiality, as gained him the esteem even of the royalists themselves‡.’ His father, the

* The lord lieutenant Cromwell, though he conformed to the church of England, had the greatest compassion for such whose consciences would not permit them to comply; Richard Parr, M. A. the ejected vicar of Chippenham, was one of these, to whom Henry afforded a most seasonable asylum. Nonconformist memorial.

† Leland’s history of Ireland.

‡ Neal’s history of the puritans.

protector

protector Oliver, bears this honorable testimony of his merit, that 'he was a governor from whom he himself might learn*'; and the wise cardinal Mazarine acknowledged, that 'he admired him very much'; and continues lord Fauconberg, 'as all the world must†: that amiable nobleman, though he did not then know his person, had the most sincere and tender regard for him: sir Anthony-Athley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, in a letter to him, says, 'you may have many who love 'his highness' sonne, but I love Henry Cromwell, where he naked, without all those glorious additions and titles, which, however, I pray may continew and be encreased 'on you ‡: ' doctor Gibbons says, that he remembered that a person, who was no inconsiderable judge of men, said of him, 'that he 'was truly a great man, and might pass for a 'great man in those great days.' I have

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* Leland's history of Ireland.

† Letter from lord Fauconberg to Henry, dated from Whitehall, June 8, 1658, given in Thurloe's state papers.

‡ Letter from sir A. A. Cooper to Henry, dated Sept. 10, 1657, and given in the last quoted work. Query, how far the earl of Shaftesbury remembered Henry Cromwell, &c.

✱

never

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land.

never seen any thing that can bear the slightest stain upon his character, even by his enemies, except a sentence in a letter from his sister Mary, afterwards lady Fauconberg, which seems to intimate his having some female acquaintance that brought his chastity in question; it is given below*. His numerous virtues, amongst which was his lenity and regard even for his enemies, particularly the royalists, in whose behalf he wrote to Thurloe, acquainting him he disliked the idea of severity to that party, and set before him the cruelty, as well as impolicy of it†; yet this did

* Lady Mary Cromwell, in a letter to her brother Henry, dated 'desember 7, 1655,' writes, 'I cannot but give you some item of won that is with you, which is so much feared by your friends that lov you, is som dishonour to you and my dear sester, if you have not a great car; for it is reported hear, that she ruls much in your family; and truly it is feared she is a discountenanfer of the godly people; therefore, dear brother, tak it not ill that I give you an item of her, for truly, if I did not dearly lov you both and your onor, I would not give you notis of her.' Thurloe's state papers.

† One of his letters to Thurloe, given in his state papers. Mr. Hewling Luson says, that his government in Ireland was so mild and equitable, that he acquired a great de-

gree

did not screen him from some illiberal satires from the cavaliers, who made no distinction between any part of the Cromwell family *;

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'gree of esteem, even from many persons of high rank in king Charles's interest. The late Mr. Cromwell, of Kirby-street, told me (says this gentleman) 'he found, among the papers of Henry, many letters from persons of the first distinction in the king's party, warmly acknowledging both the justice and favours they had received from him. This candor procured Henry friends and protectors of all parties. Hughes's letters.

* In a song called 'the rump carbonado'd, or a new ballad, are these verses;

But young Dick and Harry, not his heirs but his brats,
As if they had less wit and grace than gib-cats,
Slunk from their commands like a pair of drown'd rats.

Which nobody can deny.

The sound of a *rump* ne'er heard before,
In their addle pates did so whistle and roar,
That strait they took themselves to the back door.

Which, &c.

And another song called the 'history of the second death of the rump', has this verse:

And king Oliver's sons

(Like prince playing whoresons,

That on too high parts had ventur'd)

They tript with a hiss,

Of their state properties,

And exeunt two fools as they enter'd.

Doctor Piercy's loyal songs.

the

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the name was enough to subject the possessor to some insult, and this is the less to be wondered at, as some of this cast start at this word Cromwell now, though it is drawing near the end of the eighteenth century, and more than an hundred years since that family have had the least power.

It appears that his effigy was taken by Abraham and John Simon*, but it is singular, that we should have neither any engraved portrait or medal of so good and so great a man. I have heard that miss Cromwells are in possession of an original portrait of him, perhaps it is the same as was mr. William Cromwell's,

* List of effigies executed by Abraham and John Simon, made out by mr. Pennington, chescr-faxon, of London, and given to mr. George Copland, engraver, who gave it to Thomas Hollis, esq. october 2, 1759, and is printed in the life of the last gentleman; there are mentioned in that publication, the names of the following persons, whose lives are given in these volumes; earl of Warwick, lord Kimbolton, Oliver and Richard, protestors, mr. and mrs. Cleypole, mr. and mrs. Ireton, Fleetwood, St. John, Walter, Hampden, Hammond, Lockhart, Desborough, Jones, Scroop, Hazilrig, Lenthall, Hewson, Harrison, Lambert, and Monk.

the

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the grandson of Henry; mr. Panton possessed also an original one of the lord lieutenant; when a child; Vertue has engraved his seal as lord deputy of Ireland; it has his arms, with the same quarters as his father's privy seal, impaling those of his ladies; with his own crest, viz. a lion with a double tail, holding a spear or javelin, the whole emblazoned and inscribed, SIGILL. HENRICI. CROMWELL. HIBERNIÆ DEPUTATI; the original was in the possession of the late mr. William Cromwell.

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Henry
Cromwell,
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Henry's lady was Elizabeth, daughter of sir Francis Russell, bart. of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire; she was exemplary in her conduct, and elegant in her manners; the people still remember her by the appellation of the good lady Cromwell*. The lady of the lord lieutenant Cromwell, as her grandson mr. William Cromwell acquainted doctor Gibbons, 'entertained, before her marriage, an ill 'opinion of her father Oliver; but that upon 'her uniting into the family, all her prejudice

Elizabeth,
wife of
Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieutenant
of Ireland.

* Register and tradition of Wicken.

PART IV.
SECT. I.

Elizabeth,
wife of
Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieuten-
ant of Ire-
land.

‘ was removed; and changed into a most af-
fectionate esteem for her father-in-law, as
‘ the most amiable of parents.’ She survived
her husband some years, dying april 7, 1687,
aged fifty-two; and was buried close to him;
within the communion rails of the church of
Wicken; upon her grave is a plain stone
(called, in Cambridgeshire, clench-stone) upon
which is this inscription :

Elizabetha Uxor Henrici Cromwell:

Obiit 7^o die Aprilis An^o 1687.

Annoq. Aetatis suae 52.

Children of
Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieuten-
ant of Ire-
land.
Oliver
Cromwell,
esq. first
son.

The issue of Henry, the lord lieutenant was;*

1. Oliver, born at Cork-House; Dublin, april
18, 1656: he died at Spinney-Abbey †, in april,
1685, and was buried close to his grandmother,
the protector Oliver’s lady, within the rails of
Wicken church; upon a clench-stone laid down
to preserve his remains is this inscription :

* The genealogy of the Cromwells, from Henry the
lord lieutenant, is taken from registers and monumental
inscriptions, a pedigree sent me by miss Cromwell, and
some particulars upon the subject communicated to me by
other friends; it would be troublesome both to myself and
the reader, and, I think, useless to particularize.

† Dr. Gibbons, and mr. Luson’s account of this family.

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Oliueir Cromwell Filius Henrici

*Cromwell, obiit * Apr^e A 1685,*

Annoq. Ætatis sue 29.

PART IV.
SECT. I.

Children of
Henry
Cromwell,
lord lieut. of
Ireland.

I should suppose he died a bachelor.

2. Henry, who continued this line, and of whom hereafter.

Henry
Cromwell,
esq. 2d son.

3. Francis, born at Chippenham, june 7, 1663; he died in 1719, but where buried is not known.

Mr. Francis
Cromwell,
third son.

4. Richard, born at Spinney-Abbey, and baptized august 13, 1665: he died in London, february 18, 1686-7.

Richard
Cromwell,
esq. 4th son.

5. William, born at Spinney-Abbey, april 29, 1667; this gentleman went to the East-Indies, where he died, january 9, 1691.

William
Cromwell,
esq. fifth
son.

These last three gentlemen never were married.

6. Elizabeth, born at Whitehall, in september, 1654†, who died july 17, 1659, at Chippenham;

Elizabeth
Cromwell,
eldest
daughter.

* The day of the month is gone.

† Henry mentions the illness of his little daughter in a letter to Thurloe, dated Dublin, december 10, 1656;

but

PART IV. at her maternal grandfather's, and is buried in
SECT. H. the church there.

Children of
 Henry
 Cromwell,
 lord lieuten-
 ant of Ire-
 land.

Elizabeth
 Cromwell,
 second
 daughter.

7. Elizabeth, born at Chippenham, June 3, 1660, she became the wife of William Russell, of Fordham, esq. and died in London, in 1711. This lady and her descendants were the most unfortunate of all the family; her and their history is given in another place*.

S E C T I O N H.

Henry
 Cromwell,
 esq. son and
 heir of
 Henry, lord
 lieutenant
 of Ireland.

Henry Cromwell, second son of the lord lieutenant, and the only one who continued the name, was born at Dublin Castle, then his father's residence as chief governor of Ireland, March 3, 1658; after his eldest brother's death, he succeeded him in the estate at Spinney-Abbey, which he enjoyed for several years, till, by the enthusiasm of Mrs. Cromwell, in supporting the dissenting interest, and some extravagance, he was obliged to dispose of that estate; after which he was brought into the army, by the interest

but in another, dated the 24th of the same month, he says,
 * I bless God, my little daughter is well recovered.

* Vide history of the Russels of Fordham, no. 36, in the history of several persons and families descended from or allied to the Cromwells by females, vol. II.

of the duke of Ormond, 'in acknowledgment, as he always declared; of the great service and benefit his family received from Henry Cromwell, while he was lieutenant in Ireland. These acknowledgments, and the real advantages resulting from them; says mr. Hewling Luson; bear the fullest and fairest attestation to the honor of Henry's government, and to the truly noble disposition of the duke of Ormond, the protector of his family.' Nor did his grace cease to interest himself in his favor, till he saw him a major of foot, and probably would have obtained his further promotion, had he not been cut off by a fever, whilst he served under the command of lord Galway in Spain, when queen Anne was endeavouring to set the crown of that kingdom upon the head of a prince of the austrian house, in opposition to one of the princes of the bourbon race: his death happened in the year 1711.

PART IV.
SECT. II.

Henry
Cromwell,
esq. son and
heir of
Henry, lord
lieutenant
of Ireland.

The wife of major Cromwell was Elizabeth, eldest daughter of mr. Benjamin Hewling, an eminent Turkey merchant of London, by Hannah, daughter of William Kiffin, who was also

Elizabeth,
wife of
Henry
Cromwell,
esq. son of
the lord
lieutenant.

PART IV.
SECT. II.

Elizabeth,
wife of
Henry
Cromwell,
esq. son of
the lord
lieutenant.

a merchant; she was married to mr. Cromwell, may 28, 1686; the misfortunes her family experienced from the severity of king James II. and the fanaticism of her religious tenets, set her mind against the established form, and led her into some unwarrantable warmth; she, instead of copying the example of her husband's mother, set herself openly against the establishment, turned out the clergyman that had been long resident in the family, and entertained, in his stead, a baptist minister; not content with this, she endeavoured to gain proselytes to her opinions, all which led mr. Cromwell into such pecuniary inconveniences, as obliged him, soon after their marriage, to part with the abbey of Spinney*. It does not appear, however, that she brought over her husband to desert the established church. Her tenderness to her unfortunate brothers, whilst in prison and under sentence of death, will ever make her memory beloved by those who have any regard for fraternal affection; the melan-

* Lord Orford purchased the estate of Spinney-Abbey of mr. Henry Cromwell, who left it to his sister lady Tip-pin; she devised it to her two daughters, one of whom married lord Sands, the other — Archer, esq.

choly tragedy of their imprisonment and deaths was chiefly written by her. She died in 1731*.

PART IV.
SECT. II.

Children of
Henry
Cromwell;
esq. grand-
son of Hen-
ry, lord lie-
tenant of
Ireland.

Oliver
Cromwell,
esq. eldest
son.

The issue of this marriage was, first, Oliver, born at Spinney-Abbey, october 18, and baptised at Wicken, november 17, 1687; he died at Gray's-Inn, London, may 31, 1703, unmarried.

2. Benjamin Hewling, born at Spinney-Abbey, november 18, and baptised at Wicken, november 23, 1689; he died at York, august 25, 1694.

Benjamin
Hewling
Cromwell,
esq. second
son.

3. Henry, born at Spinney-Abbey, march 22, 1691-2, and buried at Wicken, june 9, following.

Henry
Cromwell,
third son.

4. William, born in Cripplegate parish, in London, april 24, 1693; he resided in that city, in chambers, in Gray's-Inn, where he spent the greatest part of his life, having been designed for the law; so late as 1750, he married Mary the

William
Cromwell,
a deacon in
a dissenting
commu-
nion, fourth
son.

* Vide some account of the sufferings of two unfortunate youths of the Hewling family, no. 37, in the history of several persons and families allied to or descended from the Cromwells, given in the second volume.

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SECT. II.

Children of
Henry
Cromwell,
esq. grand-
son of Hen-
ry, lord lieu-
tenant of
Ireland.

widow of Thomas Welby, esq. of Linton, in the county of Cambridge; she was also much in years: after his marriage he resided about two years at Böcking, in Essex, where mrs. Cromwell died, march 4, 1752*, leaving him a moderate fortune; upon her death he returned to London, and died in Kirby-street, Hatton-Garden, july 9, 1772, in the eightieth year of his age. His funeral sermon was preached at Haberdasher's-Hall, by doctor Thomas Gibbons, which has been published, with a short genealogy of the Cromwell family, and to which I have had frequent recourse, especially in his account of the descendants of the lord lieutenant Henry. Doctor Gibbons thus speaks in his sermon of this mr. William Cromwell; ' he was a
' member of this church, I suppose near, if not
' quite fifty years, or more, and was a deacon of
' it near thirty; and I never heard of a single
' blemish upon his character during the whole
' period of either his deaconship, or communion
' with us: and, methinks, it is no small thing

* The gentleman's magazine says, mrs. Cromwell died april 30, 1752, but, by mistake, the christian name of her husband is called Thomas.

' for the lamp of a christian profession to be
 ' maintained through such an uncommon space
 ' without its ever having been so much as once
 ' damped, or obscured. He appeared to be
 ' a christian indeed, not only by obtaining
 ' from what was gross and scandalous, pro-
 ' phane and ungodly, but by a spirituality of
 ' temper, and an attention to inward religion,
 ' and the pulse of his soul towards God; and
 ' indeed his sentiments and conduct manifest-
 ' ed an happy union of experimental and prac-
 ' tical godliness. He met, and no wonder in
 ' so long a pilgrimage, with very heavy afflic-
 ' tions, but never did I hear him murmur or
 ' repine, though I am persuaded he was not
 ' without quick and keen sensations. He ap-
 ' peared to be of an humble spirit, and I well
 ' remember his saying to me not long before
 ' his decease, "that he would lie at the foot
 ' of God." In the frequent visits I made him
 ' in his decay of nature, I did not perceive him
 ' in high and overflowing joys, nor on the
 ' other hand did he seem left to consternation
 ' and terror. How have I found him with
 ' some good book of the divines of the last

**PART IV.
SECT. II.**

Children of
 Henry
 Cromwell,
 esq. grand-
 son of Hen-
 ry, lord lieg-
 tenant of
 Ireland.

PART IV.
SECT. II.

Children of
Henry
Cromwell,
esq. grand-
son of Hen-
ry, lord lieu-
tenant of
Ireland.

‘ age in his hand, or on his table? And where
‘ are there writings that ever excelled them, for
‘ deep penetration, spirituality, and christian ex-
‘ perience and favour? He might have had gen-
‘ teel provision made for him in life, beyond
‘ what providence had otherwise given him, if
‘ he could have qualified as a member of the
‘ church of England; but he chose rather to
‘ preserve his conscience inviolable, and to re-
‘ main a nonconformist, than advance himself
‘ in the world, and depart from what appeared
‘ to him the line of duty.’ This gentleman
communicated some letters to the editor of
Thurloe’s state papers, of his grandfather the
lord deputy of Ireland, during his govern-
ment in that kingdom. He was intimately
acquainted with, and respected by, mr. Hollis,
of singular memory.

Richard
Cromwell,
esq. fifth
son.

Henry
Cromwell,
esq. sixth
son.

5. Richard, of whom in the next section.

6. Henry, born may 16, 1698: he resided
chiefly in London; government gave him a
place in the office of Excise; his death hap-
pened january 4, 1769, having never married.

7. Thomas,

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7. Thomas, vide section the fourth and last.

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SECT. III.

8. Oliver, born in Gray's-Inn, London, september 23, 1704, he, like his father, served in the british army; he was an ensign in an irish regiment, but disliking his situation, he resigned his commission, and spent the remainder of his life in privacy and retirement; he died in the beginning of august, 1748.

Children of
Henry
Cromwell,
esq. grand-
son of Hen-
ry, lord lieu-
tenant of
Ireland.
Mr. Thos.
Cromwell,
seventh son.
Oliver
Cromwell,
esq. eighth
son.

9. Mary, born at Newington-Green, april 11, 1691. She died unmarried; in 1732, according to miss Cromwell's manuscript, but before 1730, if we believe mr. Hewling Luson.

Mary
Cromwell,
eldest
daughter.

10. Hannah, born at Hackney, january 10, 1696-7; the time of her death is unknown.

Hannah
Cromwell,
youngest
daughter.

S E C T I O N III.

Richard Cromwell, esq; the fifth son of major Henry Cromwell, and grandson of Henry lord lieutenant of Ireland, was born at Hackney, may 11, 1695, he was bred to the law, and was an eminent attorney-at-law, and solicitor

Richard
Cromwell,
esq. great
grandson of
Henry, lord
lieutenant
of Ireland.

PART IV.
SECT. III.

~~~~~  
 Sarah, wife  
 of Richard  
 Cromwell,  
 esq.

in chancery ; his residence was in Bartlett's-  
 Buildings\* ; he died at Hampstead, decem-  
 ber 3, 1759 : he married Sarah, daughter of  
 Ebenezer Gatton, a grocer in Southwark, by  
 whom he had several children, viz.

Robert  
 Thornhill  
 Cromwell,  
 esq. first son.

1. Robert-Thornhill Cromwell, so named  
 from a near relation of his mother, and from  
 whom he received a handsome fortune ; he  
 died at Cheshunt, in Herts, january 18, in the  
 year 1762, without issue, and I believe un-  
 married.

Oliver  
 Cromwell,  
 second son.

2. Oliver, who died an infant.

Miss Eliza-  
 beth Crom-  
 well, eldest  
 daughter.

3. Elizabeth ; this lady, with her sisters Ann  
 and Letitia, resided at Little-Berkhampstead,  
 in Hertfordshire ; but three or four years ago  
 she removed to Hampstead, near London ; by  
 the death of her brother Robert she and her  
 sisters became possessed of very affluent for-

\* Richard Cromwell, esq ; also contributed some original  
 papers of his ancestor the lord lieutenant, when he was ma-  
 jor-general only of the army in Ireland, to the editor of  
 Thurlow's state papers : he is there called, of Lincoln's-  
 Inn-Field.

tunes,

tunes, for besides what was left them by their father, she and her sister Letitia (miss Anna Cromwell the other sister being dead) have an estate in Herts of about 600*l*. which is the estate that was their brother's, and came by the relation of their mother; they also possess many valuable and curious things belonging to their great ancestor the protector Oliver, with portraits of many of the family. This lady and her surviving sister are unmarried, and are very much esteemed by those who they honour with their friendship.

PART IV.  
SECT. III.

Children of  
Richard  
Cromwell,  
esq. great  
grandson of  
Henry  
lord lieuten-  
ant of Ire-  
land.

5. Ann, she died at Berkhamstead, in sept. 1777, and was buried in a vault in Bunhill-fields, where this family have long deposited their dead. There is no monument erected to her memory, or to those of any of her deceased relations at that place. I have heard that this lady was very spirited, and when obliged once to make way for the royal family, she replied, 'it is disagreeable to give place to those who are in that elevated state which I ought to possess,—but I sub-

Miss Anna  
Cromwell,  
second  
daughter,

'mit;'

PART IV.  
SECT. IV.

Children of  
Richard  
Cromwell,  
esq. great  
grandson of  
Henry,  
lord lieute-  
nant of Ire-  
land.

Eleanor  
Cromwell,  
third  
daughter.

Miss Letitia  
Cromwell,  
fourth  
daughter:

Mr. Tho-  
mas Crom-  
well, great  
grandson of  
Henry,  
lord lieute-  
nant of Ire-  
land.

Frances and  
Mary, wives  
of Mr. Tho-  
mas Crom-  
well.

'mit;' this I was told by one who well knew and highly esteemed her.

6. Eleanor, who died an infant.

7. Letitia, this lady resides with her sister, miss Cromwell, and of whom I have spoken before.

## SECTION IV.

Thomas Cromwell, the seventh son of Henry Cromwell, the major and grandson of the lord lieutenant of Ireland, was born at Hackney, august 19, 1699. This Thomas was in an humble situation indeed for the descendant of the great Oliver, being no other than a grocer, which business he carried on upon Snow-Hill, in London. His virtues deserved a more elevated employment, as he was a person of exemplary life; he died in Bridgwater-Square, october 2, 1748: he was twice married, first to Frances, daughter of Mr. John Tidman, a reputable tradesman; his second wife was Mary, the daughter of Nicholas Skinner, a merchant

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merchant in London; she is still living; the issue of the former marriage was four children; the latter six.

PART IV.  
SECT. IV.

Issue of mr. Thomas Cromwell, by Frances his first wife.

Children of  
mr. Thomas  
Cromwell.

1. Henry, he died about 1771, unmarried.

Mr. Henry  
Cromwell,  
eldest son.

2. Thomas,

Thomas and  
Elizabeth  
Cromwell.

3. Elizabeth; who died infants.

4. Ann, married october 1, 1753\*, to mr. John Field, an apothecary, in Newgate-Street, London, and is the mother of two sons and two daughters.

Ann Crom-  
well, second  
daughter.

The issue of mr. Thomas Cromwell, by Mary, his second wife.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
esq. third,  
but now the  
only surviv-  
ing son; he  
is the great-  
great-grand-  
son of Hen-  
ry, lord  
lieutenant  
of Ireland,  
the young-  
est son of  
Oliver,  
lord protec-  
tor.

5. Oliver Cromwell, this gentleman was bred an attorney; was of the Million-Bank,

\* Gentleman's magazine says, october 2, 1753, at which time mr. Field lived upon Snow-Hill.

and

PART IV.  
SECT. IV.

Oliver  
Cromwell,  
esq. third,  
but now the  
only surviv-  
ing son; he  
is the great-  
great grand-  
son of Hen-  
ry, lord  
lieutenant  
of Ireland,  
the young-  
est son of  
Oliver,  
lord protec-  
tor.

and in partnership with the gentleman whose daughter he married, but is now a solicitor in chancery, and clerk to St. Thomas's hospital, in London; 'he is,' says mr. Hewling Luson, 'very much, and very justly esteemed by his 'numerous acquaintance;' and this character is (I am informed by many who well know him) rather below than above his merit: I am happy to inform my reader that mr. Cromwell is in great practice, having some of the first noblesse his clients. He much resembles his great namesake; so true it is, what Grainger says, that family resemblances continue often for centuries. He married Mary, daughter of mr. Morgan Morfe, an attorney, by whom he has had three children, viz. 1. A son, who died an infant. 2. Oliver, born in september, 1782; he and his father are now the only male descendants of the protector Oliver. 3. Elizabeth-Oli-vera, born in june, 1777.

Thomas  
Cromwell,  
esq. fourth  
son.

6. Thomas, who was put an apprentice to a mr. Butall, an ironmonger, in the Strand, near Northumberland-House; but no sooner was the term of his apprenticeship expired, than he procured  
a com-

a commission in the army, and embarked for the East-Indies, where he died, unmarried, in 1771; he was a handsome, short, well made person, and much esteemed.

PART IV.  
SECT. IV.

Children of  
mr. Thomas  
Cromwell,

7. Richard, who died an infant.

Richard  
Cromwell;  
fifth son.

8. Elizabeth, who died young and unmarried.

Elizabeth  
Cromwell,  
third  
daughter.

9. Susannah: this lady is now unmarried, and resides with mrs. Cromwell, her mother, in Patter-noster-row.

Susannah  
Cromwell,  
fourth  
daughter,  
now living.

10. Hannah-Hewling; she died an infant.

Hannah-  
Hewling  
Cromwell,  
fifth  
daughter:

Thus the protectorate house of Cromwell may not be improbably represented as a river, which taking its rise in the mountains of Wales, continued long in that principality, when gently gliding down the hills of Glamorganshire, and meandering through various counties, it arrived at the imperial Thames, where having gained great strength, and enlarged its bounds, it changed its ancient name, and turning its course north-east, rolled on into Huntingdonshire, where it loitered

a con-

**PART IV.**  
**SECT. IV.**

~~~~~ a considerable time, and divided itself into various branches; one of the least of them suddenly bursting its banks, swelled itself into a tremendous river, which not only swallowed up the main stream, but at length overflowed three mighty nations; and by its rapidity and dreadful violence, spread terror throughout the globe; when it as silently, as suddenly, returned to far less than its original limits; leaving, however, many noble branches behind it; ever since it has softly murmured on towards the south, where, instead of its former boundless current, it is now only admirable for the clearness and goodness of its stream.

P R O O F S

P R O O F S

A N D

I L L U S T R A T I O N S.

L E T T E R A.

To prove that the protectorate house of Cromwell had originally the surname of Williams, and that they came from Wales.

IT would be almost endless to give a catalogue of such authors who agree with the pedigree, that Oliver the lord protector was descended from a welch family ! but the writer of the article of his life in the Biographia Britannica avers otherwise ; he pretends, ' that it is more probable that this family descended ' by the females from *Ralph* lord *Cromwell*, of *Tattershall*, in *Lincolnshire*, the last heir male of which was ' lord high treasurer in the reign of *Henry VI.* and one ' of his co-heiresses married sir *William Williams*, ' whose descendants might afterwards take the name ' of *Cromwell*, in hopes of attaining that title, which ' *Humphrey Bourchier*, a younger son of the then earl

of

‘ of Essex, who married the eldest of the co-heiresses,
 ‘ actually had, and was killed at *Barnet* field, fighting
 ‘ on the side of king Edward IV.’ (*issueless*) and who
 is buried in Westminster-Abbey.

But this is far from being the fact : for the fir William, who married Maud, daughter of Ralph Cromwell, and one of the co-heiresses of her nephew, Ralph lord Cromwell, treasurer to king Henry VI. had not the surname of Williams, but Fitz-Williams ; this is obvious from all the different peerages, which mention either the pedigree of the old lord Cromwells, or that of the present earl Fitz-Williams, who is descended from that marriage : his lordship’s arms are totally unlike those of the protectorate house of Cromwell, though it is universally acknowledged, that this latter family retained their armorial bearings when they changed their name.

In proof of this, what can be stronger than what fir William Dugdale, in his short view of the troubles in England, says, that ‘ his’ (Oliver’s) ‘ extraction by the
 ‘ father’s side, was from fir *Richard Williams*, knight;
 ‘ a gentleman of eminent note in the court of king
 ‘ Henry VIII. and son to Morgan ap Williams (a
 ‘ *welchman*) by ———, sister to *Thomas lord Cromwell*,
 ‘ earl of *Essex*, is not to be doubted, who being prefer-

‘red to the service of king Henry, was for that cause
 ‘(and no other) called *Cromwell*, as is apparent enough
 ‘from testimonies of credit.’

Harris, in his life of the lord protector, in confirmation of the relation of sir William Dugdale, relates, that ‘if he had not been misinformed, many gentlemen
 ‘of the name of *Williams*, in Wales, valued themselves upon this descent of Oliver Cromwell.’

This is sufficient, and more than sufficient, to establish that part of the pedigree which relates to the protectorate house of Cromwells, descending from the Williams of Wales.

It will not be impertinent to observe here, that these Williams of Glamorganshire (from whom Oliver the lord protector descended) were allied to the Williams of Berkshire, of which family was John lord Tame: take what has fell from sir William Dugdale on this subject; ‘John lord Williams, of Tame, in Oxfordshire, was of the same family with sir Richard Williams, knight’ (the protector Oliver’s great grandfather) ‘who assumed the surname of Cromwell, in the time of king Henry VIII. viz. second son of John Williams, of Burfield, in the county of Berks, knight,

‘ by Elizabeth his wife, daughter and co-heir to Reginald Williams*.’

This lord Williams, after filling some of the most important offices under our sovereigns, died in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, without male issue surviving†.

* Sir William Dugdale’s baronage.

† Lord John Williams, of Tame, rose like most of the great men in king Henry VIII’s court, from a very inconsiderable beginning; for he was only a menial servant to that prince, and was afterwards clerk of the jewel-house, and gaining interest at court, he procured a patent for the office of master treasurer thereof; but Cromwell, then the rising favorite, obliged him to part with half of it to himself, though there was some relationship between the families: having procured sufficient, he purchased Ricot, in Oxfordshire, and held many other lucrative offices in the same king’s reign, particularly that of treasurer of the augmentations: he was knighted by king Henry, and highly obliged queen Mary I. by declaring very early in her favor, for which he was created, by writ of summons to parliament, lord Williams of Tame (but it was not enrolled); he also made him lord chamberlain of the household to king Philip, that queen’s consort, at the time of their marriage: queen Elizabeth also made him president of the council of the principality of Wales, immediately upon her accession, but he did not hold it long, dying in the first year of that reign; he twice married, 1. Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Bledlow, esq. and widow of Andrew Edmondes, esq. — 2. Margery, the daughter of Thomas lord Wentworth, by whom he had no issue. By his first lady he had Henry, who married Anna, daughter of Henry lord Stafford, but died issueless before him; Francis, who also died, without any child, before his father; Isabella, who was married to sir John Wenman, knt. and Margery, who became lady to Henry lord Norris, created in her right, baron Ricot, from a lordship of that name he had with her. Extinct peerage.

The

The Biographia Britannica (under the article Oliver Cromwell) rejects the idea that there was any affinity between that great man's ancestors and lord Williams, because, says he, the protector was a professed enemy to that house for their loyalty; but the gentleman who writ this life of the protector Oliver, should have reflected, that friendship and kindness, between even the nearest relations, are but slender ties when political and religious disputes interfere, and are none at all when the relationship is very remote: the history of the last century sufficiently evinces, that even the nearest in blood were made the most violent enemies, when the lust of power, or the inveteracy of faction, intervened.

It must be remembered, that this writer has said, that sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, and lord Tame, were brothers, from the authority of sir William Dugdale; but the exact extract which I have given will be found to say no such thing.

LETTER B.

To prove that *fir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, knt.*
great grandfather of the protector Oliver, was born in
the parish of Lanishen, in the county of Glamorgan.

Extract from Leland's Itinerary, third edition, Oxford,
 1769, vol. ix. fo. 36. and pages 37 and 38.

COMMOTES* in Glamorganshire Kibworth lyith
 from the Mouthe of Remny up to an Hille in
 the same Commote caullid *Kevenon* †, a 6 Miles from the
 Mouth of Remny. This Hille goith as a Waulle ‡
 over-thwart betwix the Rivers of Thane and Remny.

—A 2 Miles from this Hille by South, and a 2 Miles
 from Cairdof, be vestige of a Pike or Mauer Place de-
 cayed at *Eglus Newith* in the Paroche of *Londast*.

—In the South side of this Hille was born *Richard*
William alias Cromwelle yn the Paroche of *Llan-Nen*.

Leland was a contemporary of *fir Richard's*, and no
 doubt well known to him, as both were near the per-
 son of their sovereign, king Henry VIII. this is a very
 convincing proof, that the *Biographia Britannica* errs
 in making *fir Richard* descend from an english, and
 not a welch family.

* Commotes are boundaries. † 'd. Sie.' ‡ Waulle is wall.

LETTER C.

To prove that the earl of Essex's sister married to Mr. Morgan Williams, and not that the earl married his sister.

IT must be confessed, that Brooke*, York†, and Vincent‡, say, that Thomas earl of Essex married the daughter of one Williams, a welshman: Milles§ goes yet further, for he has given the arms of the countess, though without colors, which is the same as the Williams, alias Cromwell, viz. a lion rampant.

It appears by what follows, that the latter of these gentlemen either borrowed this account of the first, or took it from a pedigree that was erroneous; for Sir William Dugdale, in his baronage, observes, that he had seen a pedigree, wherein it is expressed, that the earl of Essex married a daughter of one Williams, a welshman, but supposed it was a mistake, and subjoins, that he thinks that Williams married his (the earl's) sister, for certain it is, that Sir Richard Williams is said to have been his nephew, who being preferred to the service of King Henry VIII. afterwards assumed the name of Cromwell.

* Brooke's catalogue of honor.

† York's union of honor.

‡ Vincent's.

§ Milles titles of honor.

Without doubt, fir William Dugdale's judgment and information was equal, if not far superior to any, perhaps to all the others; and when his testimony expressed, though with a *suppose* to it, is corroborated with the pedigree of the Williams, alias Cromwell, drawn up not many years after the parties were dead, we cannot, I think, be long in hesitating to give him full credit: it must be urged too, that the evidence of the earl's coat of arms being upon the most ancient part of Hinchbrooke house, which was built by fir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, is a very great confirmation: but what I think is most to be relied upon is, that we find a better account of the earl's family in the Williams, alias Cromwell's pedigree, than I have seen elsewhere; we have not only the name of the earl's father, but also the christian and surname of his countess, viz. Elizabeth Pryore, which no other writer I believe has given,

Why Morgan Williams, a gentleman of estate and family in Wales, should marry the daughter of a blacksmith or brewer of Putney, is a question I am not fully able to answer; but we may presume, that the *blacksmith* was enabled to change his business, from many favorable circumstances, to that of a brewer, which latter was a much superior one in the reign of king Henry VIII. than at present; it is highly probable, that though he died a brewer, he might leave a very good (perhaps) large fortune

fortune behind him : we know of many of the noblest families in England, that are descended from persons who were lord mayors and sheriffs of London, and others who were of trades which would disgrace (in the estimation of the illiberal) the families of the middling people of this kingdom.

If we suppose that mr. Walter Cromwell, the brewer of Putney, died rich, as there is the highest probability he did not die poor*, there can be no reason assigned why his daughter should be thought an improper match for mr. Morgan Williams, a welch gentleman of an estate of three or four hundred a year, when mr. Morgan Williams's son and grandson, two of the richest

* Had Thomas Cromwell (the son of Walter Cromwell, afterwards earl of Essex) had no fortune from his father, or very little, he would never have been in a capacity to go abroad, and particularly to have been in many offices of trust and importance, both in the Netherlands and at Rome; but, like Wolfey's family, his original meanness has been much more dwelt upon, and made greater than in reason it ought, to set off the greatness of their advancement; it is admitted, that Cromwell, afterwards earl of Essex, was some times very poor, both when in England and in Italy, but it does not prove that he was so when he first set out in life; his education in learning latin was that of no very ordinary person; he was in various employments; in some of which, from his intriguing disposition, he might lose as well as get by: certainly he was, when in Flanders and at Rome, in the papal court, in very far from mean circumstances; but little of what the argument will bear has been given.—Sir Richard Baker's continuator says, in difference to all others, that the earl of Essex's daughter married to mr. Williams of Glamorganshire.

knights and private subjects in the kingdom, married, the one a daughter of a scianer, and the other that of a merchant: lady Ann Bologne and lady Jant Seymour, two of the many wives of king Henry VIII. were descended from tradesmen of London.

Mr. Williams ap Yeban's being employed by Jasper duke of Bedford, uncle to king Henry VII. and by Henry VIII. sufficiently accounts for the acquaintance of his son Morgan Williams with miss Cromwell, who might live with her mother, in London, after her second marriage, where both mr. Williams ap Yeban, and his son mr. Morgan Williams, might reside often in their attendance at court.

L E T T E R D,

To refute Fuller's hearsay report that Oliver the protector was no ways allied to Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, the vicar general.

FULLER, in his worthies, speaking of sir Henry Cromwell, sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire (grandfather of Oliver lord protector) says, that ' he was not any whit at all allyed to (though intimately acquainted with) Thomas Lord Cromwell

‘ (the *Mandor of Monasteries*) which,’ continues he, ‘
‘ knowingly affirm, though the contrary be generally
‘ believed.’

‘ For when Doctor Goodman, late Bishop of Glou-
‘ cester, presented a printed paper * to *Oliver Cromwell*
‘ (Grandchild to this Sheriff) mentioning therein his
‘ near affinity to the said Lord *Cromwell*; the pretended
‘ Protector, desirous of confuting a vulgar Errour, in
‘ some passion returned, *That Lord was not related to*
‘ my Family in the least degree.’

This is only an hearsay report, which is more likely
to be false than true; but supposing it for a moment to
be true, is it impossible that Cromwell might say it to
get quit of a man of doctor Goodwin’s character, who
(from his great penetration) he must know and despise
as a fawning hypocrite, and detest as such †.

When we reflect what proofs have already been
brought to shew the relationship between the two fami-

* Doctor Goodwin, with the printed paper, presented the protector a
book, the title of which was, *The two great mysteries of the christian*
religion, the ineffable Trinity and wonderful incarnation, printed in 1653.

† What an idea must we have of doctor Goodwin, who, although he
had sworn allegiance to king Charles I. paid his subject court to Oliver the
protector; and afterwards, when he thought the hierarchy would never be
restored in England, and he could hope to rise no higher, professed him-
self a roman catholic.

lits of Williams, alias Cromwell, and Cromwell, it is almost needless to add any thing in refutation of what Fuller has here said ; however, I shall remark, that the protector could not seriously make such a speech ; when he was in possession of a pedigree of his family, which not only mentioned an alliance between it and the Putney Cromwells, but is very exact in stating the particular degree of kindred between them, and which, from sir Richard Williams, alias Cromwell, taking his name from the Pudsey Cromwells, must be well known to every one of his relations and particular intimates.

Indeed, so far was the protector from denying the relationship between the two families, that he, by implication in the most public manner, acknowledged it, by requesting, upon the death of the parlement general, to be created earl of Essex and vicar general, the very titles and place that Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, enjoyed ; and which had a compromise between king Charles I. and the parlement army taken effect, he probably would have had.

I am not ignorant that some have thought that Oliver wished to have had the title of earl of Essex, as his wife was supposed to be descended from the Bouchiers, who anciently bore that title ; but this, as I have shewn elsewhere, is entirely without foundation ; for the protec-

trefs,

crest, though of the same name, was no ways dependent from the Bourchiers, earls of Essex, but of a totally different family*.

LETTER E.

Of the armorial bearings of the Williams, alias Cromwell, both in sculpture and painted glass, at Hinchinbrooke House, near Huntingdon; formerly the residence of that family, and which was built by them.

UPON two ancient bow windows at Hinchinbrooke House, are several shields of arms, and other devices: upon the center of the front of one of them is the royal arms of France and England quarterly; crowned, and supported by two angels. On the sides, towards the bottom, are E. R. the initials of Edward VI.'s name and title, in whose reign this most ancient part of the house was finished: on one of the sides of the large shield of the royal arms is a portcullis crowned, the cognizance of the house of Beaufort†, from whom the Tu-

* Vide life of the lady protestress Elizabeth Cromwell, part II. section II.

† The Beauforts were descended from John of Gaunt, third son of king Edward III. by Catherine Swinford, his concubine, whom he afterwards married, and the children were legitimized.

dors defended by females, and opposite to this is an eagle, which is also crowned; the arms of the kingdom of Ireland: and upon the compartments on the sides of this bow window are the arms, No. 1, and 2, part I. and two other shields, which by length of time have lost their bearings.

The other ancient bow window has in its front a large full-blown rose, from which issue many smaller ones; on the one side is the arms of the duchy of Normandy, crowned; and on the other side is a defaced shield; and upon the ends of this bow window are No. 3 and 4, and 5 and 6, answerable to the former one. These windows are finely ornamented with lions, eagles, portcullis, roses, and fleur de lis, scattered about in the same manner as upon the chapel built by king Henry VII. adjoining to Westminster-Abbey; from the softness of the stone, and the great length of time since it was built, it is going very fast to decay, and in a few years probably the whole of the sculpture will be gone.

On the semicircular bow window, in another part of Hinchinbrooke House, and which is prodigiously large, is under the window, the royal arms of Tudor, crowned with the supporters of that house, viz. a lion and a dragon, round the arms, in a garter, with a motto of the order, and under the shield *DISU ET MON DRET*; under

under the imperial arms of England is a shield of arms, belonging to the house of Williams, alias Cromwell, with the date when built above, and the motto of that family beneath, vide part II. No. 1, and on the sides of this large shield are No. 2 and 3.

Above the arches, and between the seven pillars that support this bow window, are the shields, plate III. there are three of them over each arch, and generally a crest in the middle; as all the above are engraven upon stone, I have not given any colors, because the colors of some are unknown, and those of the others can be supplied from part IV.

In the window of the great bow window last mentioned are two shields of arms, No. 1 and 2, part IV. painted or stained in the glass; they are both emblazoned, and No. 1, has the dexter side exactly like No. 2, which in part is omitted, as only a repetition without any information: No. 1, is the arms of Sir Henry Cromwell, impaling those of his wife, with a coat of pretence of the Treake or Davy family of Cornwall. No. 2, are those of Sir Oliver Cromwell, his eldest son and heir, impaling his wives. The window in which these arms are, is the site light in the magnificent dining room, where majesty has been several times regaled.

LETTER

LETTER F.

Copy of a letter from colonel John Cromwell to the lord-general Cromwell.

MY LORD,

SINCE my arrivall in these parts, I have binn with the lord's commissioners of the chancerie, to whome I have freed myselfe of those aspersions which were falselie cast upon me, and they well satisfied in all things that they could expect; my humble suite is now, that your lordship would be pleased to putt them in minde to give a quick dispatch to this my tedious suite in law, which unlesse you are pleased to forward their delay with three or four lines directed to them, and inclosed to me to deliver to them, I maie be seene to starve in expectation; for since the decree past in court, whereby that cleeres that the estate of right belongs to me, yet possession was, nor is, not to be given untill the accounts are made upp, which as divers believe maie be verie tedious, they haveinge procured another commission to examine new witnesses, though notwithstandinge the decree past, and with all my wive's greate favours from your familie, makes her give out strange languages, that she hopes to have the disposall of the estate at hir owne pleasure; but I hope of better favours and justice, having spent a verie competent estate, and employed your lordshipp's affections

tions in the recoverie of an estate soe infinitelie desperate. I shall not trouble you with anie complaints of a vicious wife, but in short let you know, I am most unhappie if ever she or hir fordid council prevaile, whereby (if not timelie prevented) they maie cause both our ruines by studdieing to act dishonorable things for me, and is-provident for hir ; I shall arme myselfe with patience, cravunge your favorable assistance in theis my troubles, hopeinge you will not suffer me to goe unworthilie or stained to my grave, and gull'd by a woman. I am timorous, I have intrenched on your patience, wherefore I shall desire to take leave for the present, not forgettinge my prayers for your health and happines, soe long as I am able to subscribe myselfe,

London, Your faithfull kinsman, and
This 18 of Jan. 1650. Most humble servant,
J. CROMWELL.

For his Excellencie the Lord Generall
Cromwell, theis present.

From the original letters, &c. addressed to Oliver Cromwell, concerning the affairs of Great-Britain, from 1649 to 1658, found among the political collections of the poet Milton, published by John Nickoll, jun. F. A. S. London, printed in 1748 Lond. fo.

LETTER

L E T T E R G.

THE scene in the comedy of *Lingua*, or the combat of the tongue and the five senses for the superiority*; which is said to have so much affected Oliver Cromwell when he was a boy, and played the part of *Tactus*, was this.

A C T I, S C E N E i v.

Mendacio. Tactus.

Mend. Now chaste *Diana*, grant my nets may hold.

Tact. The blasting childhood of the cheerful morn,

Is almost grown a youth, and overclimbs

Yonder gilt Eastern hills, about which time,

Gustus most earnestly importuned me

To meet him hereabouts; what course I know not.

Mend. You shall do shortly to your cost, I hope.

Tact. Sure by the sun it should be nine o'clock!

Mend. What a star-gazer! will you ne'er look down?

Tact. Clear as the sun, and blow the firmament:

Methinks the heavens do smile.

* The comedy of *Lingua* was printed in 1607, and in that impression is said to have been first acted at Trinity college, Cambridge, and afterwards at the free grammar school in Huntingdon. The plot of the play is, that *Lingua* gives a crown and robe to be contested for by the senses—Winstanley is mistaken in supposing Oliver to have acted the part of *Tactus* at Cambridge, which is contrary to the testimony of all other writers.

Mend.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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Mend. At thy mishap,

To look so high, and stumble in a trap.

(*Taëtus stumbling at the robe and crown.*)

Taët. High thoughts have slippery feet; I had well nigh fallen.

Mend. Well doth he fall, who riseth with a fall.

Taët. What's this?

Mend. Oh! are you taken? 'tis in vain to strive.

Taët. How now!

Mend. You'll be so entangled straight—

Taët. A crown!

Mend. That it will be hard—

Taët. And a robe!

Mend. To lose yourself.

Taët. A crown and robe!

Mend. It had been better for you to have found a fool's coat, and a bauble; hey, hey.

Taët. Jupiter! Jupiter! how came this here?

Mend. Oh sir, Jupiter is making thunder, he hears you not; here's one knows better.

Taët. 'Tis wond'rous rich: ha! but sure it is not so: ho!

Do I not sleep, and dream of this good luck; ha?

No; I am awake and feel it now.

Whose should it be?

(*He takes it up.*)

Mend. Set up a *fi quis* for it.

Vol. I.

Y

Taët.

Tact. Mercury, all's mine own; here's none to cry,
half's mine.

Mend. When I am gone.

S C E N E VI. *A Soliloquy.*

Tact. Tactus thy sneezing somewhat did portend,
Was ever man *so fortunate* as I?
To break his shins at such a stumbling block
Roses and bays back hence: this *crown* and *robe*,
My brows and body circles and invests,
How gallantly it fits me, sure the slave
Measured *my head* that wrought this coronet,
They lie who say that complexions cannot change,
My blood's enobled, and I am transform'd
Unto the *sacred* temper of a KING.
Methinks I hear my noble parasites
Styling me Cæsar, or great Alexander,
Licking my feet, and wondering where I got
This precious ointment, how my pace is mended,
How princely do I speak, how sharp I threaten;
Peasants, I'll curb your headstrong impudence,
And make you tremble when the lion roars;
Yea, earth bred worms: O for a looking-glass!
Poets will write whole volumes of *this change*!
Where's my attendants? Come hither, sirrah, quickly,
Or by the wings of Hermes——

Doctor

Doctor Beard, that was Oliver's schoolmaster, when he acted this play, was himself a writer of plays; he is author of 'Pedantius, Comædia, olim Cantab. acta, in Coll: Trin. nunquam ante hæc Typis Evulgata,' Londini 1631, 12mo. It is somewhat extraordinary, that a writer of comedy should be a puritan; yet so it was, for he was, in part, author of the Theatre of God's Judgments, in the frontispiece of which is a neat whole length print of him, with two scholars standing behind him, a rod in his hand, and *as in præfenti* proceeding from his mouth; there is the date of his death, and some particulars of his family in Peck's *disfederata curiosa*. Nothing but the mutual pride of the doctor and his pupil Oliver, with some remembrance of the smart of the rod the former took so much pleasure in using, occasioned, we may suppose, the dislike the one had to the other, when Oliver grew up, as in religious sentiments there appears no great difference.

L E T T E R H.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell, afterwards lord protector of England, his admission in Sidney college, Cambridge, 23 Apr. 1616, with a copy of the remarkable character of the said gentleman, added afterwards (by some unknown hand) under his name in the college register, given in Peck's diffederata curiosa, number XXI. and communicated by doctor William Warren.

E. Registro Coll. Syd. Suff. Cant.

Apr. 23. **O**LIVERUS Cromwell Huntingdoniensis
 1616 admissus at Commentum Sociorum
 14 J. I. Aprilis vicesimo tertio, 1616, Tutore
 Mr^o. Ricardo Howlet.

(Between this entry and the next is crowded in, in a smaller hand or letter, the underwritten character)

Hic fuit grandis ille Impostor, Carnifex perditissimus, qui, pientissimo Rege Carolo I^o. nefaria Coede sublato, ipsum usurpavit Thronum & tria Regna, per quinque ferme Armorum Spatium, sub Protectoris Nomine indomita Tyrannide vexavit.

L E T T E R

LETTER I.

DOCTOR Mainwaring certainly was highly blameable, as was the king for sheltering him; the stating the matter will exculpate Cromwell respecting this business, which was briefly thus :

The doctor, in a sermon he had preached, recommending the subject to give cheerfully to the loan, used these improper passages, which were subversive of all liberty and property, that the king is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning subjects rights and liberties, but that his royal will and command in imposing loans and taxes without common consent in parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience, upon pain of eternal damnation, that those who refuse to pay the loan, offended against the laws of God, and the king's supreme authority, and became guilty of disloyalty and rebellion ; and that the authority of parliament is not necessary for the raising of aids and subsidies ; and that the slow proceedings of such great assemblies were not fitted for the supply of the state's urgent necessities, but would rather produce sundry impediments to the just designs of the princes.'

It is not to be wondered at, that the vengeance of men struggling for liberty should fall upon the author of such language ; mr. Rous and mr. Pym undertook to bring him to punishment, the former in the house of commons, the latter before the lords ; but no satisfaction being had, the speaker of the commons demanded judgment of the lords against the doctor, notwithstanding his tears, which he said was by no means satisfactory, and therefore desired he might be imprisoned during the pleasure of the commons, fined 1000l. to the king, obliged to make a submission in writing, as dictated by the committee, both at the bar, and in the house of commons ; that he be suspended for three years, and preaching ministers employed at his expence, to serve his benefices ; that his suspension should be by ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to be disabled from any further church dignity or secular office, and also to be disabled from preaching at court ; that as the book deserved to be burnt, the lords were requested to move his majesty to set forth a proclamation to call in the said books, that they might be all committed to the flames, in London, and at the universities, and that the printing of them should be inhibited upon a great penalty.

Doctor Mainwaring, in conformity to the desire of the commons and judgment of the peers, made a public
sub-

submission, in which, amongst other things, he confessed that in the three sermons complained of were dangerous passages, inferences, and scandalous aspersions, in most parts of them.

Notwithstanding all this, his majesty acted so unadvisedly (probably by the instigation of archbishop Laud, who, the venerable abbot, his predecessor says, led the king on to all his arbitrary actions) that he granted him a full pardon, upon his own application, for all errors committed by him, either in speaking, writing, or printing, and for which he might be hereafter questioned; and in defiance of both houses, presented him to the rectory of Stamford-Rivers, in Essex, a dispensation passing to empower him to hold that with St. Giles in the Fields.

Was it then any wonder that the committee of religion should be highly displeased, or rather incensed at such a conduct; and that they should report this transaction to the house; and that mr. Oliver Cromwell, as one of this committee*, should also inform the house, 'what countenance the bishop of Winchester did give to some persons that preached flat popery, and mentioned the persons by name, and how by this bishop's

* Mr. Oliver Cromwell was, in 1640, one of the committee of religion, and also for preaching ministers, which was a sub-committee to the former.

‘ means Mainwaring (who by censure of the last parliament
 ‘ was disabled for ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity
 ‘ in the church, and confessed the justice of that censure)
 ‘ is, nevertheless, preferred to a rich living. If these,’
 added he, ‘ are the steps to church preferment, what
 ‘ may we expect.’ No doubt, he was more displeased
 with his lordship of Winchester, as he got the king’s
 hand to mr. Mainwaring’s pardon.

L E T T E R K.

THE following will sufficiently evince that many
 thought, or affected to think, that the protector
 had been concerned in the brewing business :

A song styled ‘ The Protecting Brewer’, given by
 doctor Piercy, in his collection of ‘ Loyal Songs’

A Brewer may be a Burgefs grave,
 And carry the Matter so fine and so brave,
 That he the better may play the Knave,
 Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be a Parliament-man,
 For there the Knavery first began,
 And Brew most cunning Plots he can,
 Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer

A Brewer may put on a *Nabal* Face,
And march to the Wars with such a grace,
That he may get a Captain's Place,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may speak so wondrous well,
That he may raise (strange things to tell)
And so be made a Colonel,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may make his Foes to flee,
And raise his Fortunes so that he
Lieutenant-General may be,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be all in all,
And raise his Powers both great and small,
That he may be a Lord General,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be like a Fox in a Cub,
And teach a Lecture out of a Tub,
And give the wicked World a Rub,
Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer by's his Excise and Rate,
Will promise his army he knows what,
And set upon the College-Gate,
Which nobody can deny.

Metbinks

Methinks I hear one say to me,
 Pray why may not a Brewer be,
 Lord Chancellor o'th'University,
 Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may be as bold as *Heñor*,
 When as he had drank his cup of Nectar ;
 And a Brewer may be a Lord Protector,
 Which nobody can deny.

Now here remains the strangest thing,
 How this Brewer about his liquor did bring,
 To be an Emperor or a King,
 Which nobody can deny.

A Brewer may do what he will,
 And rob the Church and State, to sell
 His Soul unto the Devil in Hell,
 Which nobody can deny*.

In the song of the sale of religious household stuff,
 given by the same gentleman, are these two lines :

And here are old Noll's brewing vessels,
 And here are his Dray and his Slings.

* Doctor Piercy has given another song, in which Oliver is said to have been a brewer, but it has none of the requisites which the above song has to recommend it ; this is really a journal of his life.

Mr.

Mr. Walker, who paid so dear for writing his sentiments in the history of independency, after prophesying that Cromwell (then lieutenant-general, to Fairfax) would assume the supreme sway, says, then let all true saints and subjects cry out with me, 'God save king Oliver and his brewing vessels,' and in another place speaking of Harry Parker, who he calls Observator, he says that he is returned from Hamborough, and 'that he is highly preferred to be a brewer's clerk (alias secretary to Cromwell).'

Worm, in Cowley's cutter of Colman-street, has a reference to Cromwell, when speaking in derision of Cutter's learning, he asks him 'What parts hast thou? hast thou scholarship enough to make a brewer's clerk *.'

I could get no information at Huntingdon, respecting this matter, whether the protector ever was a brewer or not; the inhabitants are very ignorant of what relates to their extraordinary townsman, and his family, owing, probably, to their dislike to his character. I might, perhaps, have learnt much from the curious col-

* The report of Oliver's having been a brewer, is the reason, probably, that king Charles II. in his Commission to any who would kill him, calls him a 'mecanic fellow,' it is dated may 3, 1654; it is at full length in Thurloe's state papers.

lections of the late mr. Farror, of that place, respecting the history of that town and county, in which no doubt was often mention made of the Cromwells, but unfortunately all the papers of that gentleman are lost.

L E T T E R L.

FROM what follows, we may conclude mr. Oliver Cromwell (afterwards protector) was not upon good terms with the established clergy at St. Ives.

The reverend Henry Downett was vicar of St. Ives, at the time Oliver resided there; this unfortunate divine was taken into the custody of the serjeant of arms, for refusing to admit a factious lecturer at St. Ives, from which he was sequestered in 1642; and the rev. mr. Reynolds, his curate at that place, was silenced: as mr. Cromwell was then one of the committee of religion, and must personally know both these gentlemen, it cannot be supposed but that he would have saved, had he not disliked them.

It is not impossible, but that he might be the cause of their misfortune, by procuring complaints against these

two orthodox and loyal divines*; I am the more apt to believe this to be the case, as Cromwell seems to have harboured revenge against such as had displeased him, and taken it when he became possessed of the means; for in 1641, he (with Mr. Valentine Wauton, his relation) informed against a gentleman of Huntingdonshire, to the parlement, only for words which were pretended to be spoken by him of high and dangerous consequence, for which the poor gentleman suffered many hardships†.

It is somewhat to be wondered at, that we should not find complaints from archbishop Laud in his visitations; of the puritanism of the county of Huntingdon, but not a word drops from the primate respecting it, except a lectureship in the town of Huntingdon, which he desires the king may be disallowed, because the lecturer was removable by lay persons, to which his majesty assents; this was in 1633‡; and it was this lectureship, I should suppose, that Cromwell was so anxious to prevent the abolition of, or rather wished its restoration, as appears by a

* Mr. Downett was also sequestered from his other rectory of Toft, in Cambridgeshire, in 1643, or 1644. In 1650, one Wellstead succeeded to St. Ives. Mr. Downett died before the restoration. Walker's suff. of the Clergy, and Peck's Defid. Curiosa.

† Journals of the house of Commons.

‡ Heylin's life of archbishop Laud; these annual visitations come down to near the commencement of the civil wars.

letter

letter of his to mr. Storie, his friend (the founder of the lectureship) requesting his continuance of the payment of the money he had used to allow, and which was discontinued (probably by order of his majesty): in this letter he is warm in the praise both of mr. Storie and doctor Welles, the former lecturer; it is dated St. Ives, january 11, 1655 *.

From the nonconformist's memorial, it appears that mr. John Pointer, of Brazen-Nose college, was lecturer of Huntingdon; he was presented by the mercer's company in London, though he had eleven competitors; he preached every market day to the country people, and gratis every sunday in the great church in that town. And some years afterwards, when the neighbouring ministers supplied the lectureship, he preached twice every sunday in the church, until the civil war drove him to London, when the protector Oliver gave him the canonry of Christ-Church, in Oxford. Upon doctor French's death, he told him, he hoped he would take as much pains in the university as he had done at Huntingdon: he died january 2, 1683, in his eighty-fourth, or eighty-fifth year.

* The above-mentioned letter is in the british museum, and transcribed by mr. Harris, in his life of the protector Oliver: it is very curious, but was too long to give here, it is a convincing proof how far gone Oliver was at that time in religious enthusiasm.

L E T T E R

LETTER M.

AS a proof that mr. Oliver Cromwell (afterwards protector) was active in parish affairs, take the two following items, from a book kept at St. Ives, for registering parish officers, expenditure of monies, &c.

The xxijth day of Aprill, an^o Dom. 1633,

MEMORAND^ū that (the day and year above-written) we the inhabitants of the towne of St. Ives cum Slepā, in the county of Huntingdon (together wth mr. Bell curate thereof) whose names are here under written, doe nominate and appointe and elect mr. Thomas Filby and John Ibbit for the street, and Thomas Larke for the greene.

Moreover we nominate and elect Robert Pitts, and Richard Perret, and Thomas Simnell, overseers of the high waies for the street of the towne aforefaide, and John Beale for the sleap.

Edward Bell, curate as
ibidem.

Oliver

Oliver Cromwell writes
his name here, but
cut out, supposed by
John Bentley, in
1738, be then church-
warden.

No thanks for it.

Henry Perry.

Robert Cordell.

Francis Wood.

Thomas Carter.

John Parnell.

Robert Ingram.

Thomas Timbs.

Robert R. Pittes.

William Marritt.

Francis Dorington.

John Binkman.

James Bayley.

Bennet Mefen.

The 7th of Aprill, anno Dom. 1634.

MEMORANDO, the daye & yeare above righten,
we the inhabbin of St. Ives, cum Sleape, in the county
of Huntington, together wth Mr. Downett, vicare
theire, whose names are herein under righten, doe no-
minate and appoint and elect Seackinge Boyden for the
greene, William Merrett, & William Parnel for the
streete.

Moreover, we nominat and electe John Johnson,
William Chadbourne, for the street, & Thomas Field
& Danell Golde, overseers for the heigwayes for the
towne of St. Ives cum Sleape.

Oliver Cromwell.

Henry Perry.

Willm

| | |
|-----------------------------|-----------------|
| Will ^d . Scarle. | Thomas Carters. |
| Robert Cordells. | John Abbot. |
| John Filbey. | Robert Ingrams. |
| Thomas Coolston. | John Fleming. |
| Francis Wood. | |

 LETTER N.

THE protector Oliver, when he went from St. Ives, left several things behind him that have made his residence there well known.

The house where he resided at St. Ives is not now standing; Mr. Atkins, an attorney, lives in a handsome one built upon the site of the old one! it stands just without the town. In this house is a picture, which is said to be of Oliver the protector, but there is more probability of its being Sir Oliver Cromwell (I mean the oldest person represented in the picture) for there are two figures, the one exhibits a corpulent person, about sixty years of age, his beard and whiskers are quite white, he has on a close black dress; and quite plain at the wrists, a ring upon one of his fingers, and a broad girdling band; the other figure represents a young man,

no doubt, the son of the other ; he has his hand upon his father's, and is given with a small beard and whiskers, and his dress more gay.

In the town are dispersed a great number of swords, which have the initials of Oliver the nephew's name upon them ; these, probably, are part of those he sent down in 1642, for which the house of commons voted him 100l.

It must not be forgot, that a large barn, which Oliver built, still goes by the name of Cromwell's barn ; and the farmer who now rents the estate he occupied, marks his sheep with the identical marking irons which Oliver used, and which have O. C. upon them.

L E T T E R O .

THE manner in which the protector Oliver is said to have got a feat in the long parlement, was this :

The city of Cambridge very much opposed the draining the fens in the marshy counties, and consequently, as Oliver had defeated it by his vigilance

he was become very popular in that place, especially as the townsmen were disaffected to the government, and many of them carried away with the new opinions respecting religion; a tradesman, a townsman of this class, named Richard Tims, who went most Sundays, for the sake of pure doctrine, to the isle of Ely, and hearing Oliver's long tedious preachings, they intirely captivated his heart.

This man, says my author, hearing that a parlement was to be called, and being himself one of the common-council, took it into his head, that none would be more fit than his friend Cromwell for one of their burgeses, ' and with this notion he went to mr. Wildbore, ' a draper, also of Cambridge, a relation of Cromwell's, ' who gave his assent, but said it was impracticable, as ' he was not a freeman; Tims, not satisfied, went to ' mr. Evetts, a tallow-chandler, who was also a puritan, ' but he lamented that it was impossible; no sooner, ' however, had he quitted the house, than he called ' him back, and whispered him, that the mayor had a ' freedom to bestow, and that one Kitchingman, an ' attorney, who had married his wife's sister, and was ' of their party, had a great influence over him; he ' therefore advised him to move mr. Kitchingman in it, ' who was to use his interest with the mayor, under

' color that mr. Cromwell was a gentleman of fortune
 ' and had a mind to come and live in the town, then be
 ' in a poor condition, but with a strict charge to him
 ' the true design, alderman French, who was mayor
 ' being a declared royalist. When they came to make
 ' this application to him, mr. French said he was sorry
 ' but that in reality they came too late, for he had
 ' promised his freedom to the king's fisherman; mr.
 ' Kitchingman easily removed this objection, by un-
 'dertaking that the town should confer a freedom
 ' upon the person mentioned, and so at the next court-
 ' day, the mayor declared his intention to bestow his
 ' freedom upon a very worthy gentleman of the isle of
 ' Ely, one mr. Cromwell, who being apprized of his
 ' friend's industry, came to town over-night, and took
 ' up his lodgings at mr. Almond's, a grocer*; thither
 ' the mace was sent him, and he came into court, dressed
 ' in scarlet, richly laced with gold; and having pro-
 ' vided a pretty parcel of strong claret and sweetmeats,
 ' and they were so well circulated amongst the corpora-
 ' tion, that they unanimously declared mr. mayor's free-
 ' man was a very civil gentleman.

* Sir William Dugdale, in his short view of the troubles, pretends
 that Cromwell resided, some time before the long-parliament met, in
 mean lodgings in Cambridge; but it may be questioned, whether he
 ever resided at that place after he left the university; if, however, he
 did, it was probably after his election to serve for that place.

• When

* When the election came on, the mayor discovered his mistake, but it was then too late, the party amongst the burgesses were now strong enough to close him*.

By so artful a stratagem as this, did Oliver, it is supposed, obtain a seat in the house of commons; but though this transaction is told with an air of precision, and is very circumstantial, as whatever else this author has delivered is, yet, it is not the more likely to be true—there seems no more in it than this—that Tims was very instrumental in getting Cromwell properly recommended, and that French, then the mayor, also espoused his cause; for which both of them were brought into trouble at the restoration†. For can it be supposed possible, but that Cromwell should not be well known to the corporation, when he had obtained the favor of Cambridge, by preventing the draining of the Fens, and still more so, as he was returned a member for that city in the preceding parle-

* *Biographia Britannica*, taken from Heath's *Flagellum*. I have copied the former, as it is far better and more decently written, though not so exact in the particulars; as that such a one had his working dress on, and that another was at supper, &c.

† Richard Tims, or Tymbe, alderman of Cambridge, represented that town in the parlements held in 1654 and 1656, he was displaced from his aldermanship by the commissioners of the act of corporations, for not abjuring the covenant; French, who was then (1663) also mayor, was more complying, but the share he had taken in getting Cromwell elected was sufficient to deprive him of his office, though he freely swore the covenant; the loss of the mayoralty was greater than he could support, as he died in three days after, if Heath is to be credited.

ment ; besides, French the mayor, probably had not so great a dislike to Oliver, or his principles, as is pretended, for he was a covenanter during the usurpation, as Heath himself allows ; and it is not impossible but he might be a relation to dr. French, who married Oliver's sister.

L E T T E R P.

IT has been generally represented that the protector Oliver was insolvent when he was returned a member to serve in the long-parlement, and that he was ever before then of an expensive extravagant turn of mind.

There can be no doubt but that when he was at Cambridge and London, and some little time after his return to Huntingdon, he indulged himself in living in a very extravagant and idle expensive way, but as he married a lady of adequate circumstances to himself, almost as soon as he was of age, it could not have been long, nor could he have much injured his fortunes, for if he had, sir James Bouchier, would never have given him his daughter ; it is certain that he settled upon mrs. Cromwell part of his inheritance his father bequeathed him.

After his marriage it is pretended by some that he lived in a very extravagant manner, and consumed the whole
of

of what his father left him ; perhaps he was not a rigid oeconomist, but there is no proof that he had spent the whole of his property, when his uncle left him his estate ; probably if he had, he never would have had it : his large family, the good educations he gave his children, his setting up as the leader of a party, his patronizing the disaffected clergy, and the ill success of his farming, if not brewing schemes, no doubt lessened rather than increased his fortune.

The current testimony of almost all is, that he retired to St. Ives with a broken fortune ; having dissipated the greatest part of what his uncle Stewart had bequeathed him, and that from his ill success in the farming business he entirely exhausted the small remains of his property.

To lay any stress upon the testimony of those who have written panegyrics upon Oliver, is as improper as to implicitly believe those who have written expressly to blacken his character ; therefore, not to notice what Milton and others have said respecting his constant frugality, I shall only mention that Harris is of opinion that so far from lessening his patrimony after his reformation, that he was careful to improve, and really increased his fortunes. I have great reasons to think that Oliver never was in the least distress after he came of age, and

more so, that he was not at the time he was returned member for Cambridge; for he could never be so mad, so enthusiastical, as to give so many sums, and those considerable, for the good of the cause he espoused, had he at that time suffered; want would he, can any sensible, any reasonable person suppose, have given five hundred pounds towards raising a force to subdue the rebellion in Ireland*? would he have purchased arms to have sent down into his own county, and given one hundred pounds towards finding the earl of Manchester waggons, when that general was going to attack the king: these sums were given at the commencement of the civil war, before he could have received any emolument from his post (then inconsiderable) in the army; and therefore it cannot be supposed that he gave such large sums when he was in the greatest distress for money. Yet Heath with the greatest boldness avers, that he had spent the last farthing of his estate, and was secured from imprisonment by being a member of parliament; that he found a difficulty in borrowing ten pounds, and that at one time, ten shillings would have been acceptable†.

* Five hundred pounds at that time was a very large sum; the patriot Hampden gave but one thousand pounds; and master Arthur Goodwyn but one thousand eight hundred pounds; and Robert and John Goodwyn six hundred pounds; though these relations are always represented as men of very large fortunes.

† Heath's Flagellum. But he is a writer deserving very little credit, and none at all in this.

I can

I can readily suppose that Oliver, when he was returned a member for Cambridge, had but little landed property; for, as he purposed leaving Britain and settling in America, prudence might dictate to him to dispose of what he could; and it is the more probable that he did part with the greatest part of his estates at that time, because no part of those left him by his father, or that which was bequeathed to him by his uncle Stewart, is mentioned in the schedule given in by his son, the protector Richard to the parliament, upon his depositions*; but this is very far from proving that he had no property; for had that been the case, would he have solemnly assured lord Faulkland, in 1641, that had not the grand remonstrance passed, 'he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more, and I know (says he) many honest men of the same principle;' had he been then bankrupt, it would have been ridiculous to talk of disposing of what he had; he had too much sense to have so exposed himself.

* Heath, though he has said that Oliver had parted with all his property, pretends that he had still remaining, of his uncle Stewart's possessions, a thatcht house, with some lands, of forty or fifty pounds a year, in a town called Wells, within four miles of Wisbich, in the isle of Ely.

LETTER

L E T T E R Q.

THE protector Oliver's appearance, with regard to his dress, when he first entered the long parlement, was by no means such as conveyed the idea of a courtier, and scarce of a country gentlemen.

Doctor South, in one of his sermons, gives the following description of him at this time: 'Who that had beheld such a bankrupt, beggarly fellow as Cromwell, first entering the parlement house, with a thread bare torn cloak, and a greasy hat (and perhaps neither of them paid for) could have suspected, that in the space of so few years, he should, by the murder of one king, and the banishment of another, ascend the throne, be invested in the royal robes, and want nothing of the state of a king, but the changing of his hat into a crown.' This is the language of a severe satirist, and one who was as lavish in the fulsome compliments to 'this beggarly fellow', when alive (styling him 'a lively copy of Jeroboam') as he was now in his abuse of him; and likening him to Massinello, the poor wretch that the mob of Naples invested with royalty.

Sir Philip Warwick was a man of veracity; he thus honestly paints Cromwell: 'The first time,' says the
knight,

knight, ' that ever I took notice of him, was in the
' beginning of the parlement, held in november, 1640,
' when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentle-
' man (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon
' our good clothes). I came one morning into the
' house, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking
' (whom I knew not) very ordinarily appareled, for it
' was a plain cloth suite, which seemed to have been
' made by an ill country taylor; his linen was plain,
' and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two
' of blood upon his little band, which was not much
' larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-
' band; his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck
' close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish,
' his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full
' of fervor*.' Probably this picture is very exact;
one should have thought, such a person so ungracefully
dressed, but little calculated to become a principal per-
son in the senate, and much less its future sovereign;
but it must be remarked, that it was from his slovenly-
ness, more than poverty, that he dressed in this
manner†.

* Sir Philip Warwick's memoirs.

† Vide next note.

L E T T E R R .

THE protector Oliver was soon noticed in the house of commons for his boldness and the solidity of his arguments.

Sir Philip Warwick says, ‘ that when he went to the parlement house, soon after its meeting, he heard mr, Cromwell pleading strongly against some indelicacy of the queen’s servants, which he aggravated to an enormous height; and though the matter was so trivial, yet from his earnestness and fervor he was much listened to, which,’ says the knight, ‘ gave me but a mean opinion of parlements.’

Lord Digby, when going down the parlement stairs with mr. Hampden, and only knowing Oliver personally, said, ‘ Pray, mr. Hampden, who is that man, for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly to-day?’ ‘ That sloven,’ said mr. Hampden, prophetically, ‘ whom you see before you, hath no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the king (which God forbid!) in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England.’

What

What Rapin and Hume have said of Oliver's being two years in the house before he was noticed, and that he was never upon more than two committees of any consequence, is certainly ridiculous; the fervor of Cromwell in all his speeches against the government, even in small matters, we find from sir Philip Warwick, was listened to with attention, and that too at the commencement of the parliament; and we have just seen that they attracted the notice of lord Digby, and that his merit was well known to his own party; and unluckily for mr. Hume, it appears by the journals of the house of commons, that he was in no less than twenty committees between december 17, 1641, and june 20, in the following year, and several of them of great importance*.

LETTERS.

IT is pretty obvious that Oliver studied both grace and dress whilst in the house of commons, for he afterwards was a great proficient, or rather excelled in them.

Sir

* Vide sir Philip Warwick's memoirs, Rapin's and Hume's history of England, and journals of the house of commons.—Lord chancellor Hyde in his state papers, says, that the first time Cromwell ever spoke in the house, was upon the earl of Manchester's inclosure business, and 'that 'mr. Cromwell answered the polite lord Mandeville, the earl's son, with
' so

Sir Philip Warwick, who has given so uncourtly a description of Oliver, upon his entrance into the parliament, in 1640, remarks afterwards the great alteration of him for the better; ‘for,’ says he, ‘I lived to see
 ‘this very gentleman, out of no ill-will to him, I thus
 ‘describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real
 ‘(but unspent) power, having had a better taylor, and
 ‘more converse among good company, in my own
 ‘age, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in
 ‘his farjeant’s hands, and daily waited at Whitehall,
 ‘appear of a great and majestic deportment, and comely
 ‘presence.’ Other writers who cannot be taxed with partiality to him, own that he was deficient in no politeness becoming his exalted station.

L E T T E R T.

THE relief of Gainsborough in 1643, laid the foundation of all the subsequent promotions of mr. Cromwell (afterwards protector) in the army.

‘so much indecency, rudeness, and in language so contrary and offensive,
 ‘that he, as chairman to the committee, was obliged to reprehend, and acquaint him, that he would adjourn the committee, and report his conduct
 ‘to the house of commons the next day, if he did not desist; as his carriage
 ‘was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that it was not to be
 ‘born with.’ The chancellor says this was the cause of Oliver’s constant hatred to him.

Whitlock

Whitlock speaks of him thus, after recounting the action in which the brave lieutenant Cavendish was killed, fighting for his sovereign; ‘This was the beginning of his (Cromwell’s) great fortunes, and now he began to appear in the world. He had a brave troop of horse of his countrymen, most of them freeholders, and freeholders sons, who upon matter of conscience engaged in this quarrel with Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without in good iron armour, they would as one man stand firmly, and charge desperately *.’

LETTER U.

OLIVER was certainly swayed at least as much by revenge as patriotisim against his sovereign at the breaking out of the civil wars.

Archbishop Williams knew this, or he would never have given the following advice to his majesty, in a council held

* Whitlock’s memorial of English affairs. Cromwell chose sufficient people for his troop, as such were only capable of opposing the royal forces, which consisted of gentleman’s sons, younger sons, and persons of quality. The parliament army were every where beat at first, because they were composed only of decayed serving men, tapsters, and such kind of fellows; such men as Oliver engaged, with the addition of religious enthusiasm, became invincible.

held

in 1645, speaking of Cromwell, 'I knew him,' says the
 ' primate, at Buckden, but never knew his religion, being
 ' a common spokesman for sectaries, and maintained their
 ' part with stubbornness. He never discoursed as if he
 ' were pleased with your majesty and your officers, and
 ' indeed he loves none that are more than his equals.
 ' Your majesty did him but justice in refusing his peti-
 ' tion against sir Thomas Steward of the isle of Ely; but
 ' he takes them all for his enemies that would not let him
 ' undo his best friend; and above all that live, I think him
 ' the most mindful of an injury. He talks openly that
 ' it is fit some should act more vigorously against your
 ' forces, and bring your person into the power of the
 ' parlement. He hates the earl of Essex, because he says
 ' he is but half an enemy to your majesty, and has done
 ' you more favor than harm. His fortunes are broken,
 ' that it is impossible for him to subsist (much less satisfy
 ' his ambition) but by your majesty's bounty; or by
 ' the ruin of us all in one common confusion. In short,
 ' every beast has some evil properties, but Cromwell has
 ' the properties of all evil beasts.' This speech certainly
 gives us an high opinion of the primate's knowledge of
 the real character of one who was the master-piece of
 dissimulation. The conclusion, however, is indecent,
 and probably he was mistaken as to his broken fortune,
 though it is reasonable to suppose, that the sums Oliver
 had advanced in the parlement service, must have less-
 ened

fened his patrimony, and that he could not be expected to fit down again, without some satisfaction for the emolument he then received from his command in the army.

LETTER V.

IT is pretty extraordinary, that Oliver should so openly declare himself the professed enemy to the king, in the beginning of the civil war, as he did, except it was to prove the tempers of his men, and to retain such as would go all his lengths, for he thus addressed his troop upon raising them: ‘that he would not cezen them by perplexed expressions in his commission, to fight for king and parlement; therefore, if the king chanced to be in the body of the enemy, he would as soon discharge his pistol upon him, as any private man; and if their consciences would not let them do the like, he advised them not to list themselves under him.’

L E T T E R W .

The first inauguration of Oliver in the protectorate.

December 16, 1653.

THE protector, about one of the clock in the afternoon, came from Whitehall to Westminster, to the Chancery court, attended by the lords commissioners of the great seal of England, barons of the exchequer, and judges in their robes ; after them, the council of the commonwealth, and the lord mayor, aldermen, and recorder of the city of London, in their scarlet gowns ; then came the protector attended with many of the chief officers of the army ; a chair of state being set in the said court of chancery, the protector stood on the left hand thereof uncovered, till a large writing in parchment (in the manner of an oath) was read ; there being the power with which the protector was invested, and how the protector is to govern the three nations, which the protector accepted of, and subscribed in the face of the court, and immediately hereupon sat down covered in the chair ; the lords commissioners then delivered up the great seal of England to the protector, and the lord mayor his sword and cap of maintenance, all which the protector returned immediately to them again ; the court then rose, and the protector was attended back as aforesaid, to the
banqueting-

banqueting-house in Whitehall, the lord mayor himself uncovered, carrying the sword before the protector all the way; and coming into the banqueting-house, an exhortation was made by mr. Locker, after which the lord mayor, aldermen, and judges departed.

The instrument or model framed to be the foundation of this present government, was chiefly made up of these following heads,

1. The protector should call a parlement every three years.
2. That the first should assemble on the third of september, 1654.
3. That he would not dissolve the parlement till it had sat five months.
4. That such bills as they offered to him, he not passing them in twenty days, should pass without him.
5. That he should have a select council, not exceeding one-and-twenty, nor under thirteen.
6. That immediately after his death, the council should chuse another protector before they rose.
7. That no protector after him should be general of the army.
8. That the protector should have power to make peace or war.
9. That in the intervals of parlement, he and his council might make laws that should be binding to the subject, &c. with some other popular lurdcs and common incidences of government not worth the recital, which were confirmed and strenuously validated by this his oath :

A a 2

I promise

: I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed ; and in all things to the best of my understanding, govern the nations according to the laws, statutes, and customs ; to seek their peace, and cause justice and law to be equally administered.*

This ceremony was performed in the chancery in Westminster-Hall *.

L E T T E R X.

The second and more solemn investiture of Oliver in the protectorate.

THERE remained only the solemnity of the inauguration or investiture, which being agreed upon by the committee and the protector, was by the parliament appointed to be performed in Westminster-Hall ; where, at the upper end thereof, there was an ascent raised, where a chair and canopy of state was set, and a table with another chair for the speaker, with seats built scaffold-wise for the parliament on both sides ; and places below for the aldermen of London, and the like ;

* From Heath's brief chronicle.

all which being in a readiness, the protector came out of a room adjoining to the lords house, and in this order proceeded into the hall. First went his gentlemen, then a herald ; next the aldermen, another herald, the attorney-general, then the judges (of whom serjeant Hill was one, being made a baron of the exchequer june 16.) then Norroy, the lords commissioners of the treasury, and the seal carried by commissioner Fiennes, then Garter, and after him the earl of Warwick with the sword, born before the protector bareheaded, the the lord mayor, Titchborn, carrying the city sword (by the special coaks of the protector) by his left hand : being seated in his chair, on the left hand whereof stood the said Titchborn and the dutch ambassador ; the french ambassador and the earl of Warwick on the right ; next behind him stood his sons Richard, Fleetwood, Claypsole, and the privy council ; upon a lower descent stood the lord viscount Lisle, lords Montague and Whitlock, with drawn swords.

Then the speaker (sir Thomas Widdrington) in the name of the parlement, presented to him a robe of purple velvet, a bible, a sword, and a scepter (all which were precious tokens of the parlement's favor) at the delivery of these things, the speaker made a short comment upon them to the protector, which he divided into four parts, as followeth.

1. The robe of purple—this is an emblem of magistracy, and imports righteousness and justice: when you have put on this vestment, I may say you are a gown-man. This robe is of a mixt color, to shew the mixture of justice and mercy. Indeed, a magistrate must have two hands, *placentem*, & *amplectentem*, to cherish and to punish.

2. The bible is a book that contains the holy scriptures, in which you have the happiness to be well versed. This book of life consists of two testaments, the old and new: the first shews *Christum velatum*, the second *Christum revelatum*, Christ veiled and revealed: it is a book of books, and doth contain both precepts and examples for good government.

3. Here is a scepter, not unlike a staff; for you are to be a staff to the weak and poor: it is of ancient use in this kind. It is said in scripture, that the scepter shall not depart from Judah. It was of the like use in other kingdoms; Homer the Greek poet calls kings and princes scepter-bearers.

4. The last thing is a sword, not a military, but civil sword; it is a sword rather of defence than offence: not to defend yourself only, but your people also. If I might presume to fix a motto upon this sword, as the
valiant

valiant lord Talbot had upon his, it should be this,
Ego sum domini protectoris, ad protegendum populum meum,
I am the protector, to protect my people.

This speech being ended, the speaker took the bible and gave the protector his oath; afterwards master Manton made a prayer, wherein he recommended the protector, parlement, council, the forces by land and sea, government, and people of the three nations, to the protection of God. Which being ended, the heralds by sound of trumpet proclaimed his highness protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, requiring all persons to yield him due obedience. At the end of all, the protector with his train carried up by the lord Sherrard Warwick's nephew, and the lord Roberts his eldest son, returned in the same posture; the earl of Warwick sitting at the one end of the coach against him, Richard his son, and Whitlock in one, and lord Lisle and Montague in the other boot, with swords drawn, and the lord Claypool, mr. of the horse led the horse of honour in rich caparisons to Whitehall. The members to the parlement house, where they prorogued their sitting to the twentieth of january *.

* From Heath's brief chronicle.

L E T T E R Y.

The magnificent funeral of Oliver, lord protector.

TH E corpse of his late highness having been embalmed, and wrapped up in a sheet of lead, was, on the six-and-twentieth of september, about ten of the clock at night, privately removed from Whitehall to Somerset-house, being only attended by his own domestic officers and servants, as the lord-chamberlain, and comptroller of the household, the gentlemen of the life-guard, the guard of halberdiers, and divers other officers and servants; two heralds of arms went next before the corpse, which was placed in a mourning-hearse, drawn by six horses; in which manner it was carried to Somerset-house, where it remained for some days in private, until things were in a readiness to expose it in state to a public view, which was performed with the following order and solemnity.

The first room at Somerset-house, where the spectators entered, was formerly the presence-chamber, compleatly hung with black, at the upper end whereof was placed a cloth of state, with a chair of state under the same.

The

The second large room was formerly the privy-chamber, hung with black, with a cloth and chair of state under the same.

The third room was formerly the withdrawing-room, hung with black cloth, and had a cloth and chair of state in it as the former; all which three large rooms were compleatly furnished with scutcheons of his highness's arms, crowned with the imperial crown; and at the head of each cloth of state, was fixed a large majestic scutcheon, fairly painted and gilt upon taffety.

The fourth room, where both the corpse and the effigies did lie, was compleatly hung with black velvet, and the roof was cieled with velvet, and a large canopy, or cloth of state, of black velvet, fringed, was plated over the effigies, made to the life in wax. The effigies itself being apparolled in a rich suit of uncut velvet, robed in a little robe of purple velvet, laced with a rich gold lace, and furred with ermins; upon the kirtle was the royal large robe, of the like purple velvet, laced and furred with ermins, with rich strings and tassels of gold; the kirtle being girt with a rich embroidered belt, wherein was a fair sword, richly gilt and hatch'd with gold; hanging by the side of the effigies. In the right hand

was the golden sceptre, representing government ; in the left hand, the globe, denoting principality ; upon the head a purple velvet cap, furred with ermins, signifying regality : Behind the head there was placed a rich chair of state, of tissued gold, and upon the cushion, which lay thereon, was placed an imperial crown, set with precious stones. The body of the effigies lay upon a bed of state, covered with a large pall of black velvet, under which there was spread a fine Holland sheet, upon six stools of tissued cloth of gold : on the sides of the bed of state was placed a rich suit of compleat armour, representing his late highness's command as general : at the feet of the effigies stood his crest, according to the custom of ancient monuments.

The bed of state whereupon the effigies did thus lie, was ascended unto by two steps, covered with the aforefaid pall of velvet, the whole work being compassed about with rails and ballasters, covered with velvet ; at each corner whereof there was placed an upright pillar, covered with velvet, upon the tops whereof were the four supporters of the imperial arms, bearing banners, or streamers, crowned. The pillars were adorned with trophies of military honour, carved and gilt ; the pedestals of the pillars had shields and crowns, gilt, which compleated the whole work.

Within

Within the rails and ballasters stood eight great silver candlesticks, or standarts, almost five foot high, with virgin-wax tapers of three foot long : next unto the candlesticks there were set upright, in sockets, the four great standards of his highness's arms, the guy-dons, great banners, and banrolls of war, being all of taffety, very richly gilt and painted. The cloth of state, which covered the bed of state, and the effigies, had a majestic scutcheon, and the whole room was fully and compleatly adorned with taffety scutcheons : several of his late highness's gentlemen attending bare-headed, round about the bed of state, in mourning ; and other of his highness's servants waiting in the other rooms, to give directions to the spectators, and to prevent disorders.

After which, his late highness's effigies was several days shown in another room, standing upon an ascent, under a rich cloth of state, vested in royal robes, having a sceptre in one hand, and a globe in the other ; a crown on his head, his armour lying by him, at a distance, and the banners, banrolls, and standards, being placed round about him, together with the other ensigns of honour. The whole room, which was spacious, being adorned in a majestical manner, and several of his late highness's gentlemen attending about the effigies, bare-headed ; in which manner

the effigies continued until the solemnization of the funerals.

On the three-and-twentieth day of november, in the morning, the time appointed for the solemnization of the funerals of his late highness, the several persons of honour and quality, which were invited to attend the interment, being come to Somerfet-house, and all things being in a readines to proceed, the effigies of his late highness standing under a rich cloath of slate, in the manner afore specified, was first shown to the company, and afterwards removed and placed on a hearse, richly adorned, and set forth with scutcheons, and other ornaments; the effigies itself being vested in royal robes, a sceptre in one hand, a globe in the other, and a crown on the head. After it had been a while thus placed in the middle of a room, it was carried on the hearse, by ten of his late highness's gentlemen, into the court-yard, where a very rich canopy of slate was borne over it, by six other of his late highness's gentlemen, till it was brought and placed on the chariot, at each end whereof was a seat, wherein sat two of his late highness's gentlemen of the bed-chamber, the one at the head, and the other at the feet of the effigies. The pall, which was made of velvet, and the white linen, was very large, extending on each side of the carriage, and was born up by
several

several persons of honour thereunto appointed. The chariot wherein the effigies was conveyed, was covered with black velvet, adorned with plumes and scutcheons, and was drawn by six horses, covered with black velvet, and each of them adorned with black plumes of feathers.

From Somerset-house to Westminster the streets were railed in, and strowed with sand; the soldiers being placed on each side of the streets, without the rails, and their ensigns wrapped up in a cypress mourning veil.

The manner of the proceeding to the interment, was briefly thus :

First, a knight-martial advanced on horseback, with his black truncheon, tipped at both ends with gold, attended by his deputy, and thirteen men on horseback, to clear the way.

After him followed the poor men of Westminster, in mourning gowns and hoods, marching two and two.

Next unto them followed the servants of the several persons of all qualities, which attended the funeral.

These were followed by all his late highness's servants, as well inferior as superior, both within
and

and without the household, as also all his highness's bargemen and watermen.

Next unto these followed the servants and officers belonging to the lord-major and sheriffs of the city of London.

Then came several gentlemen and attendants on the respective ambassadors, and the other public ministers.

After those came the poor knights of Windfor, in gowns and hoods.

Then followed the clerks, secretaries, and other officers, belonging to the army, the admiralty, the treasury, the navy, and exchequer,

After these came the officers in command in the fleet, as also the officers of the army.

Next followed the commissioners for excise, those of the army, and the committee of the navy.

Then followed the commissioners for the approbation of preachers.

Then came the officers, messengers, and clerks, belonging to the privy-council, and the clerks of both houses of parliament.

Next followed his late highness's physicians,

The head officers of the army.

The chief officers and aldermen of the city of London.

The masters of the chancery, with his highness's learned council at law.

The

The judges of the admiralty, the masters of request, with the judges in Wales.

The barons of the exchequer, the judges of both benches, and the lord-major of London.

Next to these the persons allied in blood to his late highness, and the members of the lords house,

After them the public ministers of foreign states and princes.

Then the Holland ambassador alone, whose train was borne up by four gentlemen.

Next to him the Portugal ambassador alone, whose train was held up by four knights, of the order of Christ.

And thirdly the French ambassador, whose train was also held up by four persons of quality.

Then followed the lords commissioners of the great seal.

The lords commissioners of the treasury.

The lords of his late highness's most honourable privy-council.

After whom followed the chief mourner, and those persons of quality which were his assistants, and bare up his train. All the nobles were in close mourning, the rest were but in ordinary, being disposed in their passage into several divisions, being distinguished by drums and trumpets, and by a standard or banner born by a person
of

of honor and his assistant, and a horse of state covered with black velvet, and led by a person of honor, followed by two grooms: of which horses there were eleven in all, four covered with black cloth, and seven with velvet. These being all passed in order, at length the chariot followed with the effigies; of each side of which were born six banner rolls, twelve in all, by as many persons of honor. The several pieces of his late highness's armor were born by eight honorable persons, officers of the army, attended by a herald and a gentleman on each side. Next followed Garter, principal king of arms, attended with a gentleman on each side bare-headed.

Then came the chief mourner together with those lords and noble personages that were supporters and assistants to the chief mourner.

Then followed the horse of honor, in very rich trappings, embroidered upon crimson velvet, and adorned with white, red, and yellow plumes, and was led by the master of the horse.

Finally, in the close of all followed his late highness's guard of halberdiers, and the warders of the tower.

The solemnity was managed with a great deal of state from Somerset-House to Westminster, many thousands

of

of people being spectators in the windows, and upon the scaffolds all long the way as it passed.

At the west gate of the abbey church, the hearse with the effigies thereon was taken off again from the chariot, by those ten gentlemen who placed it thereon before, and in their passing on to carry it into the church, the canopy of state was by the former six gentlemen born over it again; in which stately manner it was carried up to the east end of the abbey, and there placed in that magnificent structure which was purposely erected there to receive it; where it is to remain for some time exposed to public view. The corpse having been some days before interred in Henry the seventh's chapel, in a vault purposely prepared for the same, over which a costly monument is preparing.

Thus have you a brief relation of the last ceremonies of honor which were performed to the memory of his late highness, who by his heroic acts had so well deserved, as that my dull pen not able to express them, I shall remit the reader to censure my endeavours, and submit to those that shall hereafter undertake to present the world with a large chronicle*.

* From Carrington's history of the life and death of his most serene highness Oliver late lord protector.

L E T T E R Z.

IT is extraordinary to see to what an height the passions of men are carried even about trifles—to see how they have tortured their imagination to contradict their reason; with respect to the disposal of Oliver's corpse, his friends cannot unfortunately agree amongst themselves in what way the body of the protector was disposed of.

Some say it was sunk in the Thames, others that it was buried in Naseby field, where the hottest of the battle was, and that the field was immediately plowed over; but the most romantic account is, that his corpse was taken to Windsor, put in king Charles's coffin, and that of the murdered king buried in state for Cromwell's; and that it was afterwards exposed at Tyburn, where the features of the king were so perceptible, that the mistake was discovered.

The fabricators of each of these relations, say, that they are certain of the fact of what they relate, and that it was Cromwell's dying request; but it is impossible he should order all these three modes of disposing of his body.

As the matter is curious, I shall take a view of these three opinions:—Naseby is in Northamptonshire, and fifty miles from London, where he died; now can it be
supposed

supposed by any sober person, that a corpse could be conveyed from the palace where so many eyes were constantly upon the gaze, so that only three persons, as it is pretended, should know of it; the soldiers certainly could not have been kept in ignorance, and their veneration for their old general, would not have permitted his remains to have been ignominiously stolen, as it were, away to be buried like a culprit's.

The same, in some measure, may be said of sinking the body in the Thames; and that Cromwell's remains should be conveyed to Windsor, the king's taken out of the vault there, and brought to London is still more improbable; but, supposing the latter could be the case, was it not more likely that his features should be recognized at the opening of the coffin, when it was first taken up after the restoration*, to be hung upon a gibbet for Oliver's, than after it was hung up; when, from the horrid spectacle of a dead body in a putrid state, and the disagreeable consequence attending it, none would be very fond of going near it, particularly, as there were two others with it, one of which was in a terrible state: or is it likely, that without some such art as was used to king Edward I's body, the features of king Charles should be distinguished when he had been buried eleven years.

* Charles's head must have been known immediately from Oliver's, the former had a beard of considerable length, Oliver's only a small lock of hair under the lower lip.

It is certain that the body was interred before his funeral rites were performed. His chief physician, whose testimony is worthy credit, at least in this, tells us, after giving the appearance of the internals, that though his bowels were taken out, and his body filled with spices, wrapped in a fourfold cerecloth, first put into a coffin of lead, and then into one of wood, yet it purged and wrought through all : so that there was a necessity of interring it before the solemnity of his funerals.

But it is certain, that the body was deposited in Westminster abbey, under the magnificent hearse of wax placed where now stands the tomb of the duke of Buckingham.

In proof of this assertion, when the serjeant of the house of commons, with his attendants, went to the abbey (in conformity to a vote passed in the house of commons, december 8, 1660, ordering the body of the late protector Oliver, with those of Ireton and Bradshaw, to be taken from their graves, and exposed upon a gallows) they found in a vault, at the east end of the middle aisle, a magnificent coffin, that contained the body of Oliver the late protector, upon whose breast was a copper plate, double gilt, which, upon one side, had the arms of the commonwealth impaling those of the deceased, and upon the reverse, this legend, *Olivarius Protector Republicæ, Angliæ,*

Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, Natus 25^o. Aprilis Anno 1599^o. Inauguratus 16^o. Decembris 1653, Mortuus 3^a. Septembris Anno 1658^o. hic fitus est. Which plate, dr. Cromwell Mortimer, secretary to the royal society, saw, and copied, and it is still in being*. The same gentleman also saw the original receipt of the mason employed in opening the vaults of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, for taking up their bodies, which is thus, ‘ May the 4th day, 1661, rec^d. then in full, of the worshipful sargeant ‘ Norfolk, fiveteen shillings, for taking up the corpses ‘ of Cromell, and Ireton, and Brasaw, rec. by mee ‘ John Lewis.’

It appears that the protector’s body, with that of Ireton, was taken up on saturday, january 26, 1660, and on the monday night following were drawn in two several carts from Westminster to the red-lion-inn, in Holborn, where they remained all night. Bradshaw’s, for good reasons, was not taken up till the morning following, which was the anniversary of king Charles’s death, when they were conveyed upon sledges to the gallows†, taken
out

* Serjeant Norfolk supposed the plate to be gold, and therefore claimed it; which, with the cannister that it was inclosed in came to his only child Mary, wife of Hope Gifford, esq. of Colchester, whose only daughter and child married to sir Anthony Abdy, bart. whose third wife permitted dr. Mortimer to copy it.

† The royalists published upon this occasion, the speeches of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, and John Bradshaw, intended to have been

out of their coffins, hanged upon the several angles of that treple tree, till sun set, then beheaded, and their trunks thrown into an hole under the gallows, and their heads set upon poles upon the top of Westminster-hall, and where Oliver's long remained: for sir Thomas Armstrong's was placed between his and Bradshaw's. Sir Thomas was executed june 20, 1684, which was more than twenty years after Oliver's head had been placed there.

This disagreeable subject has already carried me further than I intended it should, but I cannot omit adding, that we can make but little doubt that Oliver always meant to be buried in Westminster abbey, or he would not have laid those who he most loved there, particularly his own mother, and his favourite daughter; it is therefore highly probable he wished to be buried in that dormitory of kings; but it does not appear that he ever gave any express directions concerning the disposal of his body. His enthu-

spoken at their execution at Tyburn, the 30th of january, 1660, &c. London, in one sheet and an half in 4to, published by Marchamont Needham, Payne, and Fisher, servants, poets, and pamphleteers to his infernal highness. No doubt the royalists looked upon the poet who wrote upon Oliver's falling from his coach-box as a prophet; for thus sung he,

Every day and hour hath shew'd us his pow'r,

But now he hath shew'd us his art.

His first reproach was his fall from a coach,

His next will be from a cart.

Dr. Piercy's loyal songs.

fastic

stiaſtic piety made him believe that future ages would look upon him rather as a ſaint than an hypocrite, as a great ſovereign than an uſurper, and the deſtroyer of a tyrant, than as the murderer of his ſovereign ; therefore, he could have no idea that any indignity would be ſhewn to his remains *, and certainly both himſelf and family muſt have ſuppoſed it much more for his honor, that he ſhould ſleep with kings, than that he ſhould be thrown into the Thames, or be buried with the undiſtinguiſhed dead in a field of battle ; as to his body's being taken to Windſor, it is too ridiculous to be thought of ſeriouſly ; beſides, Charles's coffin, with the pall thrown upon it, was found in queen Anne's reign, exactly in the ſame ſtate as it was when firſt placed there ; and thoſe who were the moſt concerned for his and their own honor, his family, have always believed it. I have ſaid thus much to ſhew the folly of people's believing the improbable tale, or that the ſcull ſhewn at Oxford for his, and ſtill more ſo, the pickled head diſplayed for a ſhow, are neither of them really ſo. I cannot conclude without expreſſing my contempt for king Charles II. in treating the body of ſo

* Ludlow, whoſe hatred to Cromwell, made him believe any hearſay report to his detriment, pretends that the protector ſeemed, when at the point of death, moſt concerned for the reproaches men would caſt upon his name when he was dead ; but as if he had meant to contradict himſelf, he ſays, that his highneſs at this time, acted the part of a mediator, rather than ſhewed any remorse, as became ſo great a ſinner.

great a sovereign with such indecency, though that of an enemy and usurper.

LETTER A A.

THE description of the protector Oliver's person is very just as given by dr. Smollet; but this respects him rather when in the prime of life than afterwards, as it is certain that in old age he was but a very coarse looking man, and this for many reasons; the number and greatness of his cares; the inclemency of the weather, which, as a soldier, he was obliged to endure, and perhaps the loss of his teeth; the difference of his face is very discernable in comparing those portraits of him which were taken when he was lieutenant-general, or even in the beginning of his protectorate, to those of his coins and medals painted or struck but a short time before his death.

The following description of his person, though overcharged, and in the highest degree caricature, is too witty to be omitted.—‘ But Cromwell wants neither ward-
 ‘ robe nor armour, his face was naturely buft, and his
 ‘ skin may furnish him with a rusty coat of mail; you
 ‘ would think he had been christened in a lime pit, tann’d
 ‘ alive,

' alive, and his countenance still continues mangy. We
 ' cry out against superstition, and yet worship a piece of
 ' wainscot, and idolize an unblanch'd almond; certainly
 ' its no human visage, but the emblem of a mandrake,
 ' one scarce handsome enough to have been the progeny
 ' of Hecuba, had she whelp'd him when she was a bitch.
 ' His soul too, is as hugly as his body, for who can expect
 ' a jewel in the head of a toad, yet this basilisk would
 ' king it, and a brewer's horse must be a lyon.

' In Cromwell art and nature strive,
 ' Which should the ugliest thing contrive;
 ' First nature forms an ill shap'd lump,
 ' And art to shew how good wits jump,
 ' Adds to his monstr'ous shape and size,
 ' All sorts and kinds of villainies:
 ' So that he was by art and nature,
 ' An ugly, vile, and monstr'ous creature*.'

The cavaliers, who have constantly denied him the
 least goodness, and have ever treated all his pretences to
 religion and virtue as the effects of refined hypocrisy, and
 as the liquor which he had drank to great excess when
 young, and with freedom afterwards, had so tinged his
 nose, that it ever after retained its brilliant hue, it became

* Memoirs of the year 1649 and 1650, given in Butler's posthumous
 works, though some say it was not the production of that poet.

the butt and mark against which his factious enemies shot. Cleaveland, in his character of a London diurnal, says, 'This Cromwell should be a bird of prey, by his bloody beak, his nose is able to try a young eagle whether he be lawfully begotten, but all is not gold that glitters*.' And in another place, he says, 'Cromwell's nose is the dominical letter;' another calls it 'a comet in grain†. Walker says, that at the time Cromwell ordered the soldiers to fire in the insurrection of the London apprentices, 'his nose looked as prodigiously upon you as a comet,' and speaking of the government's making treason no treason, he adds, that should 'the house vote 'that Oliver's nose is a ruby, they would expect you to swear it and fight for it‡.'

The muses likewise sung the brilliancy of Cromwell's nose.

First red nos'd Nol, he swallow'd all,
His color shew'd he lov'd it §.

'Oliver, Oliver, take up thy crown,
For now thou has made three kingdoms thine own,

* Walker has the same expression in the history of the independents, and adds, 'so was his prodromus, that type and figure of him, John of Leyden, than whom this fellow will prove far more bloody.'

† Memoirs of the years 1649 and 1652.

‡ Walker's history of the independents. §. Song The good old cause.

Call

Call thee a conclave of thy own creation,
To ride us to ruin, who dare thee oppose;
While we, thy good people, are at thy devotion,
To fall down and worship thy terrible nose*.

They have quite omitted the politic head,
His worshipful face and excellent nose†.

But when the date of Nock was out
Off dropt the sympathetic snout‡.

L E T T E R BB.

NOTHING is more difficult to discover than truth; but it is impossible almost to have it of the actions of men, whose conduct will bear various interpretations; and whose person are both the objects of excess of love and hatred.—Such was his highness, the protector; therefore, his history is most difficult to be known, as generally only his admirers,

* Cromwell's coronation.

† The state's new coin. These are given by dr. Piercy in the loyal songs, in which are others which celebrate Oliver's nose.

‡ Memoirs of 1649 and 1650.—When major-general Massey was introduced to the presence-chamber, at the Hague, after his escape from England, immediately following the violent death of king Charles I. the marquiss of Montrose, 'by way of droll, asked him how Oliver's 'nose did.'—Other, and more serious thoughts, one should have supposed, would have occurred at that time, and in the court of the son of that miserable monarch; who, himself, was then an alien, and a stranger, in a foreign land.

his

or enemies, have written respecting him. Both during his life, and since he has been under the lash of the royalists and republicans, as also all those whose religious opinions he did not promote, so that his enemies have been innumerable.

His cousin Waller, dr. (afterwards bishop) Spratt, and many other of the finest pens, offered up to him the incense of flattery, in a very liberal manner. Soon after his death S. Carrington, esq. published the history of his life and death *; and, at the same time, was printed the unparalleled monarch †; the portraiture of his royal highness Oliver ‡; mr. Maidstone, his steward, also gave an account of the protector ||; as did one who was a groom of his bed-chamber, a collection of

* London, 12mo. 1659, a mean performance.—It was dedicated to his most serene highness, Richard, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging. In this dedication, he says, ‘ I durst not publish so glorious a work to the world, before I had craved your highness’s pardon for my rashness, in adventuring to trace those vigorous lineaments in the Alexander, whom YOUR HIGHNESS SO WELL RESEMBLETH, and in whom your highness beareth so great a part.’ In the postscript to the preface, he says, ‘ Reader, be pleased to take notice, that this history is translating into five other languages; it is in French, ready for the press. The other translations in other parts of the world, being in such forwardness, as that they will be speedily extant.’ Probably the Cromwell family were ruined, and the press stop’d, before the french edition was finished.

† London, 12mo. 1659.

‡ 12mo. 1659.

|| London, 4to. 1659.

several

several passages, concerning his late highness, in the time of his sickness*. Henry D'awbeny gave his parallel to Moses, the man of God, dedicated to his most serene highness, Richard, by the grace of God, lord protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland†. The reverend Francis Peck, hath, with more propriety, published three panegyricks of Oliver, with translations, and many curious notes‡. All these were written when the Cromwells were upon the throne, and are highly in his praise.

The restoration made a vast alteration in mens' sentiments; or, at least, their expressions: the person who had lately been almost adored when living, and beatified when dead, was now loaded with every calumny: this the loose cavalier, the stern republican, and the ridiculous fanatic alone agreed in; his memory was villified, and execrated by them, as the murderer of their martyred king, as the betrayers of the common, the good old cause, and the usurper of the throne of king Jesus: these men acted in character: the most indecent were they who had courted his favour, and received it, but yet now employed those pens that had

* This, and the last, I never saw; perhaps they are the same.

† London, 12mo. 1659; the title-page is too long,—too foolish, to be given.

‡ London, 4to. 1740.

been too lavish of his praise, in taxing him with every thing that is accounted wicked and dishonourable among men, and this too to pay court to Cæsar: these were a numerous tribe.

Heath is, I believe, his first biographer after the restoration: he was the son of an exiled royalist, who was the king's cutler; he was a needy man, and wrote, and corrected books for a maintenance; he is a writer of the meanest cast, on all accounts; his falsehood is only equalled by his low and scandalous scurrility*. Mr. Cowley was a gentleman; he hath examined Oliver's character, and more impartially than a suffering loyalist could well be supposed to have done†. Dr. Bates has elegantly spoken of Cromwell; but we can rely but little upon the person who had the art of pleasing such opposites as king Charles I. Oliver Cromwell, and king Charles II. to all of whom he was a favoured physician. ‡.

* *Flagellum*, London, 12mo. 1663.—It has been reprinted: he also writ a brief chronicle of the late intestine war, in the three kingdoms, in four parts.

† London, 12mo. 1681.—It is given in the last copy of his works.

‡ Dr. George Bates's *clenchus moruum*, &c. has often been published; it is divided into two parts; dr. Heylin took out some passages in the first parts; chancellor Hyde, lord Clarendon, assisted him in the second part; it has been translated.—Thomas Skinner, M. D. has added a third part, but very inferior to the two first.—Dr. Bates died, at King's stone-upon-Thames, april 19, 1668, and was there buried. Some of his descendants are, or late were, living.

Lord

Lord Clarendon has likewise been particular in his relation of Oliver's government*; as has Dugdale in his short view of the troubles of England†. Sir Philip Warwick, in his memoirs‡, and Hobbs, in his behemoth§, and some others of inferior name, that were royalists; and, though several of these were not printed till long after, yet they were written very near his time, and are generally very prejudiced (and, as may be supposed) against him: his lordship was the apologist of king Charles I. we cannot, therefore, be greatly surprised that he condemns Oliver to everlasting perdition: sir William Dugdale was a good man, but this essay does not shew him a good historian; it wants the greatest requisite, impartiality; indeed, it is the worst of all his works; and it is a pity that he wrote it, it is so vastly inferior to his other publications. Sir Philip Warwick was (though a sufferer by), not prejudiced against him; he has wrote little, but that little is very good: the behemoth is rather an historical dictionary to learn the names of the parties and sectaries, into which the nation was split, than affording

* Lord Clarendon's history of the civil war has appeared in many sizes.

† Oxford, folio, 1681.

‡ London, 8vo. 1702.—A few copies, has a severe preface, which was ordered not to be continued.

§ This is both in 12mo. and 8vo.

any intelligence; and the writer, though a visionary in politics, as well as religion, was for *jure divino*.

The great Hollis, who leaned more to a republic than a monarchy, must have had good information, but is so violently carried away by his prejudices against Cromwell, with whom he never agreed*, that he has even denied his being possessed of courage: I need say no more. Ludlow†, who was professedly a republican, and had received many favors at his hands, but which could never bind him to the interest of one who had raised himself above him, wrote his memoirs purposely to abuse the Cromwelian family, and though he professes to harbour no resentments against, yet every where abuses them. Coke's detection likewise degrades the character of Oliver as much as possible.

The time at last came when men durst give their opinion of an intruder into the thrones of these kingdoms without offence to the government, and that because no danger could then arise to the state by impartially discussing the subject, therefore, no sooner was Ludlow's two

* Hollis makes Cromwell and lord-chief-justice St. John the vilest characters that have disgraced the human form.

† Ludlow's memoirs was first printed at Lucern, in Switzerland, 3 vol. 8vo. the two first in 1698, the third in 1699, the late Thomas Hollis, esq. republished these memoirs in a pompous manner.

first volumes published, than a well-written *modest vindication* of Oliver Cromwell, appeared by an anonymous hand*, who plainly proved that it was as lawful for Oliver to possess himself of the throne as it was for the republicans to set up a new form of government, and destroy monarchy; and when Ludlow's third volume made its appearance, the same person answered it in a book, entitled, *Regicides not saints*, in 8vo.

It must also be remembered that Slingsby Bethel, an independent, a penurious alderman of London, vindicates the republicans, of which party he was†, in his *World's mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, upon the grounds that they had more the interest of the nation at heart than Oliver, which it would be difficult to prove; in that consisted the protector's principal merit, and in which they were very defective.

Winstanly has vindicated his highness in his 'True character of Cromwell‡.'

* London, 4to, 1698. There was an answer to the *modest vindication*, intitled *LUDLOW NO LYAR*, 1692: it is a pamphlet.

† The *World's mistake in Oliver Cromwell*, London, 4to, 1668, and I think other dates.

‡ There are some other, but inconsiderable lives, or vindications, of the protector Oliver, such as the life and death, birth and burial, of Oliver Cromwell, 8vo. 1669. Cuthbert Sydenham, a puritan divine's vindication of Oliver Cromwell, and sir A. Hasleypig from the imputation of John Lilburne. This was printed before his assumption to power.

The abbé Raguenet, Leti, and some other foreigners, have written the history of this celebrated man; but they are rather romances, with some few facts, interspersed throughout, than real histories.

Whitlock's memorials of English affairs, which is a plain narrative of facts, secretary Thurloe's, Milton's, Broghill's, the duke of Ormond's, and lord Clarendon's state papers, with Rushworth and Nalson's collections, all of which are in general incontrovertable evidences of the history of these times, and consequently have given infinite satisfaction; of these dr. Gibson*, mr. Banks, and mr. Harris have availed themselves; these, with the life of the protector Oliver, given in the *biographia britannica*, and other biographical books, are all I think that are worth much attending to, and have deservedly gone through various editions. The history of Oliver's protectorate, is to be found in those of England published since that time, particularly by Baker's continuator, Burnet, Rapin, Carte, Oldmixon, Neal's history of the pu-

* Dr. Gibson, afterwards bishop of London, is supposed to have published the life of Oliver Cromwell, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and which has gone through many editions; there was an alliance between his lordship's family and that of the Cromwells, which some say, is the greatest reason to suppose him the author of the book; but it has had other fathers, as Kimber; and M. Morgan, gent. has had the audacity to put his name to an imperfect copy of this work, which he calls the fifth edition,

fitans, history of England during the Stuarts, Hume; Smollet, and Grainger; the 'latter is inimitable in his characters.

John Vincent*, Sir James Barrow†, Dr. Brookes‡, Mr. Luson, Dr. Gibbons§, and others have written of his family, and particularly his descendants.

Thus have I directed my reader how to fully examine the history and character of this great man; adding to these, some of the histories of the civil wars, or part of them, before Oliver became sovereign, as Dr. Bruno, Ryve's *mercurius rusticus*||, Josiah Ricraft's survey of

* Vincent's MS. was used by the author of the article Oliver Cromwell in the *biographia britannica*.

† Sir James Barrow has published, without his name, in 4to. 1763; some anecdotes and observations relating to Oliver Cromwell and his family, serving to rectify several errors concerning him, published by Nicol. Comin. Papadopolis; this was only printed for private inspection, and not for the eye of the public; part of it appeared in the gentlemen's magazine, for december, 1767.

‡ Dr. Brookes and Mr. Luson, have written concerning the protectorate family of Cromwell, particularly of Mrs. Bendysh, the granddaughter of Oliver. These particulars are in Hughes's letters, and given in the London magazine for 1774 and 1775, with many other curious observations and information respecting the Cromwells.

§ Dr. Gibbons's sermon preached upon the death of William Cromwell, &c. to which is subjoined, a genealogy and anecdotes of the Cromwells.

|| Printed in 8vo. in 1646, 1683, and 1685.

England's champions, and Truth's faithful patriots*, lord Fairfax's memoirs, England's recovery, or the history of the army under the conduct of sir Thomas Fairfax†, memoirs of a cavalier‡, and some others of inferior note, which give some of his first military actions.

Walker's history of the independants§; May's history of the parlement, may also be examined: the first was a moderate monarchist, the latter a reasonable anti-royalist; and there are an innumerable fry of pamphlets, of all sorts, from which some little may be learnt, but they must be read with caution. Pryne, Cleveland, Withers, Lilly, Wildman, Flatman, and Needham||, were the principal squib writers during the troubles:

* Ricraft was a London merchant, his book was published in 1647, in 8vo. it is very scarce.

† Fo. 1647.

‡ 8vo.

§ London, 4to. 1648.—Poor Walker fell a martyr to the truths he told: Oliver locked him up in the Tower, from whence he never returned.—He was a deep-sighted man, and plainly saw the future sovereign in the lieutenant-general.—There is a small book that relates to the subject, arbitrary government displayed, in the tyrannick usurpation of the rump parliament, and O. Cromwell, by a person of honour.—London, 12mo. 1683. Its satirical plates are its greatest merit.

|| Pryne was a presbyterian moderate royalist, but his dissatisfaction to every thing, was the cause of much paper being spoilt: Cleveland was a loyalist, in a time when it was a dangerous virtue. Withers even dared to tax both Oliver and Richard, the protectors, with tyranny, in
papers:

troubles: there seemed no end to their scribbling; each week brought out papers, under various names, which were the scandal of the day; for, if news there were none, the paper was easily filled with scurrility. Sometimes it may be of use to peruse them; but it would be a painful thing to examine this trash: luckily they are so difficult to be obtained, that you seldom meet with them; they have been pretty much handled by the huxters.—This subject has kept me too long; I stand in need of pardon myself; I cannot however, but lament, that Casaubon declined Oliver's liberal offers to write his history.

papers which he delivered, sealed up, into their own hands; and this several times, yet escaped punishment. Lilly, the pretended astrologist, engaged, as he himself says, soul and body in the parliament's interest; but deserted them for the Cromwellian, and wished well to the royalists at the restoration; he speaks of the rapacity of the republicans, with greater acrimony, than of any other party, but it was when they were turned out by Oliver. Major Wildman was a good, but severe writer: first against the royalists, then against Cromwell; but was obliged to desist for fear of incurring the punishment the usurper threatened him with; he did more, he wrote privately for him. Needham was a favourite writer of the royalists; but fear of ruin, and hopes of gain, made him first a secret, and then an open writer and betrayer of their cause, for which Oliver allowed him 100*l.* per annum.

L E T T E R S C C.

THERE are no original portraits of the protector, Oliver, except by Cooper, Walker, Vandyke, and sir Peter Lilly ; and they, we may suppose, have given his features exactly ; for, when he sat to the latter, he insisted upon his being faithful ' in representing every blemish, or defect, that he could discover in his face,'

The following list of engraved portraits of Oliver, are extracted chiefly from the late ingenious mr, Grainger's biographical history of England, to which I have added some remarks of my own.

Oliver Cromwell, &c. lieutenant-general ; Joost Hartgers, exc. 8vo. Oliverius Cromwell, exercitum anglicæ republicæ generalis locum tenens, gubernator Hiberniæ, &c, P. Aubrey, 4to.

Oliver Cromwell, lord protector, &c. from a most excellent limning, by Samuel Cooper, in the possession of sir Thomas Frankland, knt. 1653, G. Vertue, sc. engraved for Rapin's history. There is another, from the same original, in 8vo. by Vertue,

' Oliver Cromwell ; Cooper P. Houbraken, sc.
' In the collection of the duke of Devonshire ; illust.
' head profile,'

This

This, though a fine engraving, is generally supposed to be unlike Cromwell; perhaps owing to the original's being taken some short time before his death.

‘ Oliver Cromwell, &c. P. Lely, p. 1653, J. Faber, f. 1740. E. collectione, W. Poulet, gen. h. fh. mezz.’

‘ Oliver Cromwell; Lely P. Faber, f. fh. mezz. From a picture in the collection of lord James. Cavendish.’

‘ Oliverius Cromwell, &c. (Walker, p.) Lombart, sc. His son Richard is represented tying on his scarf; h. fh. There is a copy of this by Gaywood.’

‘ Mr. Evelyn, who personally knew Cromwell, informs us, in the numismata, that this print is the strongest resemblance of him. That gentleman, who studied physiognomy, fancied that he read “ characters of the greatest dissimulation, boldness, cruelty, and ambition, in every touch and stroke of his character.”

In the note Mr. Grainger says, ‘ the original picture was certainly in the possession of the earl of Bradford, in 1739. The figure, which I am persuaded is Richard Cromwell, has been called Lambert. Is it probable, that Lambert should be painted tying on

' Oliver's scarf? or, if it were, is it consistent with
 ' probability, that he should be represented so young?
 ' I say nothing of the features, which are seen, at
 ' the first glance, to be more like Richard's than
 ' Lambert's. I am assured, from unquestionable au-
 ' thority, that a copy, or repetition, of this picture,
 ' done by the same painter, and deemed an original,
 ' was called Oliver, and his son Richard, in the earl
 ' of Kinnoul's family, at Duplin, in Scotland. A
 ' copy of the same original, by Richardson, at Stow,
 ' was called Cromwell, and his page; and, I think,
 ' this page has been said to be sir Peter Temple.
 There is a picture of the same at Checker's, the seat
 of sir John Ruffel, where they call it Oliver and his
 page, sir Peter Temple. In mr. Hollis's life he is
 called Richard Temple, and I think justly.

' Oliverius Cromwell; R. Walker, p. P. Pelham,
 ' exc. 1723; h. fh. mezz.

' Oliver Cromwell; Walker, p. Faber, f. 4to. mezz.'

' Oliver Cromwell; Walker, p. careat successibus,
 ' opto. h. fh. mezz.'

' Oliver Cromwell; Walker, p. Picart, sculp. diz.
 (sculpturum direxit) 1724, 4to.'

Ferdinand II. grand duke of Tuscany, who, after
 having felt the weight of the protector's vengeance,

not only courted his friendship whilst living, but, respecting his memory when dead, desired his resident in London, to procure him the best original picture of Oliver that he could; who applied to a lady, a relation of the protector's, who had a fine painting, by Walker: she (unwilling to part with the portrait, and not desirous of displeasing a sovereign prince) asked five hundred pounds for it; but, to her great surprize, the money was immediately paid, and the piece sent to Florence, where it hangs in the old palace, amongst the illustrious generals*.

The resident knew, before this purchase, the value his master had for Cromwell's character; and, consequently, how acceptable a good likeness of him would be; wherefore, he bribed a person in the palace, that had access to the protector's corpse, to permit a person to take off a model, in plaster of Paris, and that only a few minutes after his highness's dissolution. A cast, wrought from this mould, is now in the Florentine gallery. Lassels does not mention it in his travels; and, probably, it was not exposed so soon after the restoration, for fear of giving offence. The Medici had once, to their sorrow, known the

* For a long time Oliver's portrait had no other english generals to accompany it, except Thomas, earl of Ossory; but now we have supplied them, with several others, especially the duke of Marlborough.

power of the british lion ; but finding Charles II. no Cromwell, the bust was set up again. Brevall observes of it, ‘ that there is something more remarkably strong and expressive in it, than in any picture, or bust, of that usurper, he had ever seen.’ Lord Corke, in his discription of it, remarks, ‘ that it bears the strongest characteristics of boldness, steadiness, sense, penetration, and pride;’ and, therefore, disbelieves it being done after his death ; for, adds his lordship ‘ the muscles are strong, and lively, the look is fierce and commanding ; death sinks the features, renders all the muscles languid, and flattens every nerve.’ However, the earl is certainly mistaken ; as Mr. Grainger thinks, who says, ‘ I have seen the characteristic head of Henry VII. at Strawberry-hill, which is unquestionably a cast from a mould, wrought off from that politic prince’s face, presently after his decease, and a model for his monumental effigy, in Westminster-abbey, am inclined to dissent from the earl of Corke. It seems to be such a representation of him as Raphael would have drawn the moment he expired*.’ I myself have frequently been surprized at the features of persons when dead, who have more resembled *themselves*, than they have for a considerable time before their deaths ; the only reason for it, that

* Mr. Grainger, in another part of his work, acknowledges that the cast of the model of Henry VII.’s head was taken off when that prince was living,

I know of is, their being released from sickness and pain, the features take their usual serene appearance. The baronet family of Russell are in possession of a wax-mask of Oliver, which is supposed to have been taken off when he was living.

‘ Oliverius Cromwell ; *Wandeck, (Vandyck) p. G., Lombart, sc. large sh.*’

‘ This is the print of Charles I. and the *supposed* duke of Espernon. The face of Charles is altered to that of Cromwell.’

‘ Oliver Cromwell, *neatly and exactly etched, by Bretherton, from the picture given by Mr. Hollis to Sidney college, in Cambridge, 4to.*’

Mr. Hollis sent it, Jan. 15, 1765 : in that gentleman’s papers, underneath the memorandum of his having given this picture to the college, were these lines :

‘ I freely declare it, I am for old Noll,
‘ Though his government did a tyrant resemble ;
‘ He made England great, and her enemies tremble.’

Mr. Hollis had a fine original drawing of Oliver, by Cooper, as large as life, which he also purchased.

The picture in Sydney college is said to have a terrific aspect ; and that his danish majesty, after contemplating the picture with attention, exclaimed ‘ il

me

me fair peur.' The character, more than the looks, operated, probably, upon his mind; in my opinion there is all the traits of his great and various character expressed in the portrait; and, amongst the others, an enthusiastic courage, but there is nothing terrific; that suits better with the faces of bold, barbarous princes, of the Ottoman race, given in their lives, by Ricout.

Oliverius primus; *Faithorne, f. 4to.*

Oliverius, britannicos heros; *Faithorne, f. in 'armour on horseback, 4to. From the "Parallelum Oliva, nec non Oliverii," fol.*

Oliver Cromwell; O. C. P. R. at the corners of the print; *fb. This portrait was chiefly engraved by Stepping, or Dotting.*

Oliver Cromwell, &c. *H. P. Paris Boisseven.*

Oliver Cromwell, &c. This print which represented the protector on horseback was publicly sold at Paris, it had these lines under it.

Cernimus hic omni caput admirabile mundo:

Regibus hic frater; populis pater, hostis multum,

Nullius ille timet quam summi numinis arma,

Quis dubitat sacro hoc, si perat Flamine Victor.

Quod Reges, Populi, Barbariesque stupent,

Barbariem, vera religione domat

Non timet at pacem cuilibet esse parat:

Quin subita Meretrix de Babylone cadet.

Which

Which has been rendered thus :

We know that face, which all with wonder see;
 Brothers to kings, parent to nations, he
 Unmov'd all foes beholds ; nor fears, save one,
 The Lord of hosts on his celestial throne.
 Who doubts, victorious, over all who rise,
 Where armies reach, or where his navy flies,
 Kings, states, nay barbarous lands, shall own his sway;
 And to his equal laws obedience pay ;
 By true religion led, he'll force his foes
 To sigh for quiet, and beseech repose ;
 Then when this work by his great hand is done,
 Tremble thou scarlet whore in Babylon*.

* Oliver

* These lines remind me of those that were under a picture of Oliver's, which was brought by a gentleman on tuesday, may 17, 1653, in his carriage, and placed it upon one of the pillars of the exchange; when having walked two or three turns there, he returned in his coach. Above the picture was, 'Tis I,' and under it these lines :

Ascend three thrones, great captain and divine,
 By the will of God*, O lyon, for they're thine;
 Come priest of God, bring oil, bring robes, bring gold,
 Bring crowns and sceptres ; 'tis high time t' unfold
 Your cloister'd bags, ye state cheats, least the rod
 Of steel and iron, of this your king and God
 Pay in's wrath with interest : kneel and pray,
 To Oliver the torch of Sion ! the star of day !
 Shout, then, the merchants, city, and gentry sing,
 And all bare-headed cry, God save the king.

* Alluding to his arms.

After

- ‘ Oliver Cromwell, protecteur van England, &c. *large oval; ornaments. sb.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell; *Rambaut Vandan, Hoeye exc. on horseback; large sb.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell; *Scgerdt Tiebnans exc. on horseback; large sb.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell, Milord protecteur, &c. *on horseback.*’
- ‘ O. Cromwell, the late protector; *on horseback, 4to.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell; *B. Moncornet, exc. 4to.*’
- ‘ Oliverius Cromwell; *Coenard Waumens, sc. 4to.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell; *P. a Gunst sc. large sb.*’
- ‘ Oliver lord protector; *began his government, &c. &c. 4to.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell, *inscribed O. C. a small oval mezz.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell: *with an engraved border, which is from a different plate; Stent, h. sb.*’
- ‘ Oliver Cromwell; *T. Jenner, f. 4to.*’
- ‘ Cromwell, my lord protecteur, &c. *a French print, 4to.*’

After the exchange was over, it was taken down, and brought to the lord mayor, who, that afternoon, presented it to the lord general himself at Whitehall. It was supposed, says the biographia, that Oliver himself, caused this to be exhibited at the Exchange, to try how far the people would approve of his taking the title of king.

Peck's collection of divers curious historical pieces, from dr. Nelson's MS. collections, communicated by dr. Zac. Grey.

‘ Oliver

‘ Oliver Cromwell, *oval, heads of king David, Solomon, Alexander, and Cæsar, at the corners of the print, 12mo.*’

‘ I do not (says mr. Grainger) remember to have seen more than two proofs of this fine print : mr. Walpole has one, and Mr. Gulton another. Mr. Bull has the original drawing ; the face was altered to that of king William.’

‘ Oliver Cromwell ; *inscribed “ Tyrannus.” Perfidy and Cruelty crowning him with a wreath of vipers, 4to.*’

‘ This is before the “ Life of Agathocles, the tyrant of Syracuse,” 12mo. It is placed there as the portrait of Agathocles, but it is apparently that of Cromwell.

Oliverius Cromwell, &c. “ Sat doctus versare dolos.” *Beneath the oval is the head of Charles I. and several other heads of the royalists, who were executed.*

Mr. Grainger says ‘ the following anecdote is related by dr. George Hicks—A gentleman came to Oliver to beg a lock of Charles’s hair, for an honorable lady, “ Ah ! no, sir,” saith Cromwell, bursting into tears, “ that must not be, for I swore to him, when he was living, that not a hair of his head should perish.” “ Some discourses on dr. Burnet, and dr. Tillotson.” p. 25.—It is an improbable tale

‘ Cromwell;

‘Cromwell; a whole length, with a crown on his head. Before his character.” 12mo.

‘Another whole length of him, which represents him in a fright, with colonel Titus’s pamphlet in his hand, and surrounded with his guards. Beneath the print, which is poorly engraved, is the author’s address to him, h. sh.’

‘The letters of mr. Hughes, &c. vol. ii. p. 308, it is said, that the best picture of Cromwell is that which was in the possession of sir Robert Rich, at Rose-Hall. At sir Thomas Frankland’s, in Old Bond-street, is another portrait of him, with the crown hanging over the arms. Dessau carried this picture to Portugal, where it was bought by sir Thomas Frankland.’

‘There is in the possession of the rev. dr. Edward Cooper, of Bath, a portrait of Cromwell, which belonged to the commissioner Whitlock*.’ Miss Cromwells of Hampstead, have an original portrait of their great ancestor, half length, and a small onyx, with the profile of Oliver’s head, by Symons. At lord Vane’s seat of Carewall Castle, is another picture of Cromwell, a three quarter’s length, resting upon an helmet, painted when he was quite in the decline of life, and oppressed with a multiplicity of cares and misfortunes, which are visibly ex-

* Thus far mr. Grainger has been my guide, and whose words I have exactly made use of as much as I could.

pressed in the countenance; the late sir John Russell, bart. had a miniature picture of the protector Oliver. Hanbury Williams, esq. has a good portrait of the oldest protector: it is a remarkable fine painting, and the colors are very warm and strong; it exhibits his highness to the knees, his hair is grey, he is represented in armour, holding a truncheon in his right hand, and his left rests upon an helmet, which is placed near a pilaster, upon the shaft of which are the arms of the commonwealth, with his own proper arms upon a coat of pretence, and his motto round the shield, 'Pax queritor bello, 1658,' the whole crowned with an imperial crown; the back ground has a view of a castle and horsemen, with a more distant view of a calm sea with ships; it is a fine piece, but the painter's name is unknown; there is every reason to suppose this an original portrait, and as such it is invaluable. There is also a three-quarter portrait of him, in Huntingdon, at the house in which he was born; it hangs on the right side of the chimney-piece, in the hall.

Oliver's medals, coins, and seals were all chiefly engraved by the inimitable Symons*. There were some few

* Thomas Symons was patronized by Oliver; he sunk dyes for several medals of him before he arrived at sovereign power, after which he gave him a grant, or appointment, to the office of chief engraver, and medal-maker; it bears date July 9, 1656, and is given at full length in the third volume of the antiquarian repertory, communicated by Mr. Aile.

medals struck abroad, particularly in Holland, if not some coins*, but these were chiefly from dies made by Symons; some however are genuine Dutch, the most celebrated is:

‘ Oliver Cromwell; a medallion, inscribed, “ *Olivar. D. G. R. P. An. Sco. Hiberniæ, Protector.*” Reverse, “ *Cromwell with his head in Britannia’s lap, his backside bare; French and Spanish ambassadors. The latter attempts to kiss his backside, but is pulled back by the former, with these words inscribed, “ Retire toi, l’honneur appartient au roi, mon maitre.” i. e. “ Stand off, that honor belongs to the king my master* †.”

The medallion is also engraved in the “ *Histoire metalique de la republique de Hollande.*”

‘ The single print is very rare; mr. Walpole’ (as mr. Grainger says, from whom I have taken the account) ‘ has the medallion from which it was taken: both these

* I have been informed that Cromwell had some of his money struck in Holland; and I am the more ready to believe it, as an ingenious foreigner some time since, sold me some of his money, which he purchased in Holland, where he likewise heard the same account. The pieces I had were the crown, half-crown, and shilling, all of which were, I am certain, struck either from the dyes of Symons, or others so exactly copied from them, that there was not any difference that could possibly be discovered.

† Mr. Grainger in a note informs his readers, that ‘ there is an historical print of Cromwell’s investiture, or inauguration, by Hellar.’

* are sometimes to be met with in the hands of the curious in Holland.'

There is a small medal with the same obverse, and reverse, which, I think, was copied from this, a few years ago in England, one of which I have seen.

It appears, says a letter in Thurloe's state papers; (which letter was intercepted) that a print of Cromwell was handed about abroad, and even publicly exposed to sale at the Pont Neuf, in Paris, which represented him upon a close stool, with the king of France on the right hand, and the king of Spain on the left, each offering a supply of paper, as the present occasion required*.

* It is impossible to suppose the meanness that both the kings of France and Spain used to win the friendship of Cromwell; his very name was terrible to them. It is said that he obliged the haughty Lewis XIV. to sign his name after his; it is certain that he would not receive the title of cousin from that king, but expected that of brother: he obliged all nations to pay his ambassadors the same honors they had done when the kingdoms were governed by kings, saying, it was the nation, not the persons of the kings to whom the respect had been paid: the whole world trembled at his name; cardinal Mazarine declared he was more afraid of him than of the devil; the pope ordered processions to be carried about to avert the thunder of his cannon from reaching Rome; the duke of Savoy was commanded to put a stop to the massacre of his protestant subjects; no sooner did the mandate reach him, than he obeyed; the stubborn dutch were all submission to him; Sweden took uncommon pains to obtain his alliance; he treated Denmark and Portugal with excess of haughtiness; all Italy, with the states of Africa, stood in awe of him, after he had so severely punished their insolence for the depredations they had committed upon british ships.

- Vertue has engraved all Symons's medals, coins, and seals of the Cromwells*; his coins are also engraved by Perry, in the plates published by the society of antiquaries, in London, and by Snelling, in his view of the gold, silver, and copper coinages of England, with all the proof pattern pieces struck in this kingdom; his medals are likewise given by that gentleman, amongst the other English ones.

L E T T E R S D D.

A letter of the protector Oliver's lady to him, from Milton's state papers, and also given in Harris's life of the protector Oliver, by which her regard for, and submission to the protector is proved; and as it is the only one in print of this lady's, it is deserving a place here.

My dearist,

December the 27, 1650.

I Wonder you should blame me for not writing nowe oftner, when I have sent thre for one; I canenot but think they ar miscarid. Truly if I knog my one hart

* Miss Cromwells are in possession of a triangular seal of Oliver's, engraved by Symons, with his cypher, his usual arms, and another seal, with the several quarterings he could bear. The late ear. William Cromwell had two broad seals of Oliver. Hollis's life.

I should

I should afe sounē neglect myself afe to the laſt thought towards you, hoe in douing of it I muſt doe it myſelf; but when I doe writ, my dear, I ſeldome have any ſatisfactore anſer, wich makſe me thenk my writing is ſligted, as well it mae; but I cannot but thenk your love woene my weakniſis and infirmetis. I ſhould rejoyſ to hear your deſire in ſeeing me, but I deſire to ſubmit to the providens of God, howping the Lord, houe hath ſeparated us, and heth oftune brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane, to the praſe of heis name. Truly, my liſ is but half a liſ in your abſeinſe, deid not the Lord make it up in heimſelf, which I muſt acknoleg to the praſe of heis grace. I would you would thenk to writ ſometime to your deare frend lord cheſ juſtes, of hom I have oftune put you in mind; and truly my deare, if you would thenk of what I put you in mind of ſume, it might be of as much purpoſ afe others, writting ſumetimes a letter to the preſedent, and ſometimes to the ſpeiker. Indeid, my deare, you cannot thenk the rong you doe yourſelf in the whant of a letter; though it were but ſeldome. I pray thenk of, and ſoe reſt yours in all faithfulniſe,

ELIZ. CROMWELL.

L E T T E R S . E E .

THE royalists, who had a particular aversion to her highness Elizabeth, the protectress, as the wife of their great enemy, have charged her with being guilty of intrigues with gentleman; a crime, which her time of life, and indifferent person, seem to amply exculpate her from: but if these do not, her modesty and proper carriage, as a wife, entirely do.

The author of a shamefully indecent pamphlet, entitled, ‘News from the new-exchange, or the common-wealth of ladies, drawn to the life, in their several characters and concernments: printed in the year of women without grace, 1650,’ speaking of this lady, says, ‘to bring up the rear of the nine, enter the incomparable lady of an old low-country colonell, by name Cromwell, who hath run through most of the regiment, both officers and soldiers. Since her coming into England’ (from Ireland) ‘she hath traded never a jot the less in the low-countries.’ In the song of the sale of religious household stuff, given in dr. Piercy’s loyal songs, the same insinuations are thrown out against her in this verse,

Here’s

Here's Joan * Cromwell's kitchen-stuff-tub,
 Wherein is the fat of the rumpers,
 With which old Noll's horns she did rub,
 When he was got drunk with false bumpers.

The romancer, Leti, has indeed particularized one of her lovers; and which was a very extraordinary one, being no less a person than the right reverend, the lord archbishop of York; but fortunately for this lady's reputation (if such a fabler as Leti deserves the least regard) archbishop Williams was not ever in a capacity to injure any husband's honor†.

LETTERS FF.

THE enemies of the Cromwell family have not only taxed the protectress, Elizabeth, with gallantry, but with the love of drinking to excess; the author of

* I have elsewhere observed that the royalists's in derision called her highness Joan, though her name was Elizabeth.

† The archbishop, by a fall when a boy, injured himself so much, that he was incapacitated to commit the crime of adultery. What Leti has said respecting this, is equally true, with what he has averred, that the protector Oliver and the primate were relations, because Williams was the first family name the Cromwells took.

' news from the New Exchange, &c. says, she loves
 ' wine, and of all wine, sack, and in glasses, and of
 ' all glasses, beer glasses: she is comptroller of the
 ' club among the ladies;' and, continues he, ' she is
 ' honoured with the title of lady governess to the
 ' three illustrious sister-worthies, mistress Mohun,
 ' mistress Harris, and mistress Campbell: her chief
 ' design is to reconcile and compose all differences
 ' betwixt the former, and, when these four are
 ' together, there will be a society for the devill'
 ' (the devill-stavern)' ' their maxim being this,
 ' They're fooles that will not these examples follow,
 ' And, once a week, meet at the Great Apollo*.'

I have given this, and the former article, only to
 shew the malice of this lady's enemies, and to
 effectually vindicate an injured character: for this
 defamer is thus spoken of by one of his own party;
 who, in the person of the earl of Pembroke, leaves
 him this legacy: ' Item, To the author of the libel
 ' against the ladies, called news from the Exchange,
 ' I give three-pence for inventing a more obscene way
 ' of scribbling than the world yet knew; but, since

* This writer says, the protectress gave very lewd toasts, and made
 suitable comments upon them; but his language is too indecent to be
 copied.

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' he throws what's rotten and false on divers names of
' unblemished honor, I leave his payment to the
' footman that paid fir Henry Mildmay's arrears, to
' teach him the difference 'twixt wit and dirt, and
' to know ladies that are noble and chaste from
' downright round-heads*.'

Her highness, instead of these criminal pleasures, seems to have employed her time in the superintendence of her family; and, when she unbent her mind from those cares, her amusements partook, in a great measure, of the religious enthusiasm of the age; such, probably, as what the ambassadors of Holland mention when they were entertained by the protector at dinner, upon the peace between the two commonwealths: after the repast (during which there was music) the lord protector took them 'into another
' room, where the lady protectrice, and others, came
' to us, where we also had music and voices, and a
' psalm sung, which his highness gave them†.' Very unlike this to the pleasures these shameless prostitute-writers pretend ‡.

LETTERS

* The will of the earl of Pembroke, a great parliamentary.—He was a very disagreeable character.—Butler's posthumous works.

† Thurloe's state papers:—the letter is dated april 12, 1654.

‡ Heath, in his flagellum, says, the protector Oliver, was a great lover of music, and entertained those that were most skilled in it, as well

L E T T E R S G G.

THE protectress, Elizabeth, certainly was not happy in her person ; this may be seen by her portrait. Mr. Cowley, in his Cutter of Coleman-street, has made himself merry with the ordinariness of her face, by putting into Cutter's mouth the following, as part of his description of his friend Worm, — ' he would have been my lady protectress's poet ; ' he writ once a copy in praise of her beauty ; but ' her highness gave for it but an old half-crown ' piece in gold, what she had hoarded up before these ' troubles, and that discouraged him from any further ' applications to court.'

There is great reason to suppose she had a defect in one eye, from part of the song of ' The cobbler's ' last will and testament, or the lord Hewson's trans- ' lation*.'

8. My

well as the proficients in every other science ; but then, as thinking he has granted Oliver too much, he compares him with Saul, who also loved music ; and that the protector was niggardly and incompetent in his rewards ; shewing, that ' private Cromwell yet governed prince ' Oliver.'

* Colonel Hewson was originally a shoe-maker, but rose in the parliament army, as well for his hatred to monarchy, as for his prowess ; he was of those who signed the king's death-warrant : after that event he

was

8.

My cushion will fit queen dowager Cromwell,
 Whilst Shipton's wife's prophecy she did thumb well,
 In chair of state, 'twill ease her bump well*.

9.

For Oliver thou didst set me on high,
 I aim'd not at it, though I winkt of an eye,
 Yet I wish not now to come thee nigh.

10.

For sure, e'er this, thou'lt burn, with thy Nose,
 Which out of thy nostril's brimstone throws,
 Would thou wer't here to finge my foes†.

was made governor of Dublin-castle; and, as interest lead him, was violent against the restoration, in Flatman's *Don Juan Lamberto*, or comical history of our late times, by Montelion, knight of the oracle; before the second part is a figure of this person, under the name of the giant Hufonio.—The first edition was in 4to. Lond. 1661.

* This thought was probably taken from an epitaph, written upon Cromwell Lea, or Lee, the author of an Italian and English dictionary, a great humourist.

Here lies old Cromwell,
 Who, living, loved the bum well;
 When he died he gave nothing to the poor,
 But half to his bastards, and half to his whore.

Vide some further account of him in Wood's *Ath. Oxoniensis*.

† Dr. Piercy's loyal songs.

L E T T E R S H H.

*A letter from lady Elizabeth Claypole, to the lady of
H. Cromwell, as given in Thurloe's state papers.*

Deare Sister,

I Must beg your pardon, that I do not right to you
so oft ase I would doe ; but, in earnist, I have bin
so extreme sickly of late, that it has made mee unfit
for any thing, thoye thare is nothing that can plesse
me more, then wherein I maye expres my tru love,
and respekt to you ; which I am fuer non has more
refen than my self, both for your former safers, and
the cens you have of any thing, which arises to me of
happnes. I will aifuer you, nothing of that can bee
to mee, wherein I have not power to expres how
really I love and honnor you. Truly, the Lord has
bin very gratius to us, in doeing for us abose whot
we could exspekt ; and now has shod himself more
extraordinary in delevering my father out of the hands
of his enymise, which wee have all reson to be sensible
of in a very pertikeller manner ; for sertingly not
ondly his famely would have bin ruined, but in all
probabilliyti the hof nation would have bin invold
in blood. The Lord grant it maye never be forgot
by

by us, but that it may case us to depend upon him, from
 hom we have reserved all good, and that it may cose us
 to se the mutablenes of thise things, and to yuse them
 accordingly; I am suer wee have nede to bage that sperrit
 from God. Hary is vary well, I hope you se him this
 sommer. Truly, there is nothing I desier more, then to
 enjoy you with us. I wis you may laye your grat bely
 here: I bag my true afficktion to your letel wons.

dear sifter,

I am your most afficktineate sifter

June 12 (1658)

and fervant,

C. CLAYPOLE.

This letter was formerly in the possession of William
 Cromwell, esq.

LETTERS II.

*A letter from 'Lady Mary Cromwell, to H. Cromwell,
 'major-general of the forces in Ireland.'*

Dear Brother,

YOUR kind leters do so much engag my hart to-
 wards you, that I can never tell how to exprefs in
 writing the tru affection and value I hav of you, who
 truly,

truly, I think, non that knows you but you may justly claim it from. I must confes myself in a great fault in the omiteing of writing to you and your dear wif, so long a tim; but I suppos you cannot be ignorant of the reason, which truly has ben the only caus; which is this bisnes of my sister Franfes and mr. Rich. Truly I can truly say it, for thes thre months, I think our famly, and myself in perticular, hav ben the gratest confusion and troble as ever poor famly can be in; the lord tel us his * * * * in it, and setel us, and mak us what he would hav us to be. I suppos you hard of the breaking of of the busness, and according to your defer in your last leter, as well as I can, I will give you a full account of it, which is thes: after a quarter of a yeor's admitons, my father and my lord Warwick begon to tret about the estate; and it sems my lord did ofer that that my father expected. I ned not nam perticulars, for I suppos you may hav had it from beter hands: but if I may say the truth, I think it was not so much estat, as som private reons that my father discovered to non but my sester Franfes and his own famylie, which was a dislik to the young person, which he had from som reports of his being a visious man, given to play, and such lik things, which ofis was done by som that had a mind to brak of the match. My sester hearing these things, wos resolvd to know the truth of it; and truly, dued find all the reports to be fals, that wer raisd of him; and to tell you
the

the truth, they wer so much engagd in affection before this, that shee could not thenk of breaking of it of; so that my sester engagd me and all the frinds she had, who truly wer very few, to speke in her behalf, to my father, which we deid; but could not be hard to any purpos: only this, my father promised, that if he wer satisfiyed as to the report, the estat shold not brak it of; which she was satisfiyed with. But after this ther was a second trecty, and my lord Warwick desered my father to nam what it was he demanded more, and to his utmost, he would satisfy him; so my father, upon this, mad new propositions, which my lord Warwick has answered as much as he can: but it seems ther is fiv hundred pounds a year in my lord Riche's hands, which he has power to sell, and ther are some people, that persuad his highness, that it would be defonerable for him to conclud of it, without thes fiv hundred pounds a year be settled upon mr. Rich, after his father's deth, and my lord Rich having no esteem at all of his son, becos he is not so bad as himself, will not agre to it; and thes people, upon this, persuad my father, it would be a defoner to him to yeld upon thes terms, it would shew, that he wos mad a fool on by my lord Riche; which the truth is, how it shold be, I cant understand, nor very few els; and truly, I must tel you privatelie, that they ar so far engagd, as the match canot be brok of. She acquainted non of her frends with her resolution, when she did it. Dear brother,

ther, this is as far as I can tel the stat of the bisness.
The lord direct them what to do ; and al I think ought
to beg of God, to pardon her in her dowing of this thing,
which I must say truly, she was put upon by the

of things. Dear,

let me beg my excuses to my fester for not writing my
best respects to her. Pardon this troble, and belev me,
that I shal ever striv to aproov myself,

dear brother,

your affectionate fester and servant,

June 23, 1656.

MARY CROMWELL.

L E T T E R S K K.

*A paper relating to the settlement of the earl of Warwick's
estate, upon his grandson's marriage with the protector's
daughter.*

IT is humbly proposed by the earl of Warywick for
himself, and his son the lord Riche, and grand-
child Robert Riche, esq.

That in consideration of 15,000l.* portion, desired
of his highness with his daughter, the lady Frances,

* An author has said that the protector gave his daughters no for-
tunes, but we see with what color of truth; the fortune of 15,000l. was in-
deed beneath the grandeur of a sovereign prince to give with a daughter;
but the protector always by his kindness to them, and putting them in lu-
crative places, amply contented and satisfied his sons-in-law.

that

that the whole entailed estate of the said earl, being about 8000*l.* per annum, with Warwick-house, and the 19 or 20 advowsons and vicarages, shall be forthwith settled for the use and benefit of the said earl for his life, without power to commit waste; and thenceforth for the lord Riche, for his life, but not to commit waste; and thenceforth for the use of the said Robert Riche, in like manner, for his life; the remainder in tail to his issue male, as the learned council of his highness, and of the said earl and lord Riche, shall advise; so as the lord Riche may receive out of the rents and profits of the said estate, 1050*l.* yearly, during the joint lives of himself and the said earl; and the said Robert Riche, and lady Frances, may receive 2000*l.* yearly, during the said joint lives of the said earl, and lord Riche; and 2500*l.* yearly, from the death of the said earl, in case he dye before the lord Riche; and 3050*l.* yearly, from the death of the said lord Riche, dying before the said earl; and that the lady Frances, surviving the said Robert Riche, may receive 2000*l.* yearly, during her life, for her jointure; and also Warwick-house, after the death of the said earl, and the now countess of Warwick.— And that competent provision shall be made for maintenance of the children of the said Robert Riche, and lady Frances, and for portions for their daughters

and younger sons, in such wise as the council of his highness, and the earl, shall think reasonable; and that the lord Riche, matryling with the earl's consent, may charge such parts of the estate, as shall be agreed upon, in the said settlement, with a jointure of 500l. per ann. during the life of such wife only: and that the lord Riche may charge other parts of the estate (not exceeding 500l. by the year) for the benefit of such younger son, or sons, as the said lord Riche shall leave at his death; the said 500l. per ann. to revert to the said Robert Riche, and his heirs males, for want of such younger son, or sons, of the said lord Riche; and that 4000l. of the said portion, shall be paid at the day of the marriage, for discharge of the debt of the said lord Riche, and with his consent; and the residue of the said portion to be disposed of by the said earl.

Good provision shall be made for repairing of houses, parks, pales, walls, and fences, and not doing waste; and that the furniture of the several houses be preserved, so as it may come to the said Robert Riche, as shall be advised by council.

And, lastly, 2000l. a piece for the three daughters of the lord Riche, now living, shall be raised out of a
part

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part of the said estate, within ten years next ensuing;
and if any of them die in the mean time, such
daughter's portion to be saved to the estates.

WARWICKE.

R O. RICHE*.

LETTERS LL.

*A certificate of the honourable Robert Rich (only son of
Robert lord Rich, son of Robert earl of Warwick)
his marriage with the lady Frances Cromwell (the lord
protector's youngest daughter). Dated 11. nov. 1657.
Given in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa. No. xiii.*

*An original (once mr. Oudart's) then in the hands of
the editor.*

TH E S E are to certify whom it may concern,
that (according to a late act of parliament,
entitled, *An act touching marriages, and the registering
thereof, &c.*) publication was made in the public
meeting place, in the parish church of the parish of
Martins in the Fields, in the county of *Middlesex*, upon
three several Lords days, at the close of the morning

Nov. 11.
1657.
J. C. II.

* Thurloe's state papers.

exercife; namely, upon the xxv. day of oct. MDCLVII. as alsoe upon the i. and viii. days of *november* following, of a marriage agreed upon, betweene the honorable *Robert Rich*, of *Andrews, Holborne*, and the right honourable the lady *Frances Cromwell*, of *Martins in the Fields*, in the county of *Middlesex*. All which was fully performed, according to the act, without exception.

In witnesse whereof I have hereunto set my hand, the ix. day of november, MDCLVII.

William Williams, register of the parish
of *Martins in the Fields*.

Then follows, in the hand of *Henry Scobell* :

‘Married xi. novemb. MDCLVII. in the presence of his highness the lord protector, the right hon^{ble} the earls of *Warwick* and *Newport* (*Robert Rich*, and *Mountjoy Blount*) *Robert* lord *Rich*, the lord *Strickland*, and many other

LETTERS

LETTERS MM.

*Epistles from mr. Oliver Cromwell (afterwards protector)
to col. Norton, respecting his son Richard's marriage.*

‘ Deere Norton,

I Have sent my sonn over to thee, beinge willinge to
answere providence, and although I confesse I have
had an offer of a very great proposition from a father
of his daughter, yett truly I rather encline to this in
my thoughts, because though the other bee very farr
greater, yett I see different tyes, and not that assurance
of godlynesse, yett indeed fairnes. I confesse that which
is tould mee concerning estate of Mr. M. is more then I
can looke for, as thinges now stand.

If God please to bring itt about, the consideration of
pietye in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoe-
man in that respect, make the businesse to mee a great
mercy, concerninge w^{ch} I desier to waite upon God.

I am confident of thy love, and desier thinges may be
carried with privacie. The Lord doe his will, thats best,
to w^{ch} submittinge I rest your humble servant,

Feb. 25, 1647.

O. CROMWELL.

For my noble friend Col. Richard
Norton, theise.’

‘ Deere Dick,

ITT had beene a favor indeed to have mett you heere at Farnham, but I heere you are a man of great businesse.—Therefore I say noe more, if it be a favor to the house of commons to enjoy you, what is itt to mee? But in good earnest when wi . . . you and your brother Ruffel be a lit . . . honest and attend your charge, suerly so. [some] expect itt, especially the good fellowes wh . . . chose you.

I have mett wth M^r Maior, wee spent two or 3 howers together last night. I perceave the gentleman is very wise and honest, and indeed much to be vallenged, some thinges of comon fame did a little sticke I glad . . . heard his doubts, and gave such answere as was next at hand, I beleive to some satisfaction, never the lesse I exceedingly liked the gentlemans plainnesse, and free dealinge wth mee. I knowe God has beene above all ill reports, and will in his owne tyme vindicate mee, I have noe cause to cumplaine. I see nothinge but that this particular businesse betweene him and mee may go onn, The Lords will be donn. For newes out of the north there is little, only the Mal. partye is prevailinge in the par^{mt} of S. They are earnest for a warr, the ministers oppose, as yett.

Mr.

Mr. Marshall is returned, whoe sayis soe. And soe doe many of our letters, their great committes of dangers have 2 malig. for one right. Its sayd they have voted an armie of 49000 in par^{lat} soe some of yesterdayes letters, but I account my newes ill bestowed, because upon an idle person.

I shall take speedy course in the business concerninge my tenants, for w^{ch} thanks, my service to your lady, I am really Your affectionate servant

March 28, 1648.

O. CROMWELL.

Farnham.

For my noble friend col. Richard Norton, theise.'

'Deere Norton,

I Could not in my last give you a perfect account of what passed between mee and mr. M. because wee were to have a conclusion of our speed that morninge after I wrote my letter to you, which wee had, and havinge had a full interview of one anothers mindes, wee parted with this, that both would consider with our relations, and accordinge to satisfactions given there, acquaint each other with our mindes.

E c 4

I cannot

I cannot tell how better to doe itt, to receave or give satisfacion then by you, whoe (as I remember) in your last, sayd that if thinges did stick betweene us, you would use your endeavor towards a close.

The thinges infitt upon were theise, (as I take itt) mr. Maior desired 400 p. annum of inheritance lyinge in Cambridge sheire, and Norfolke, to bee presently settled, and to be for maintenance, wherein I desired to bee advised by my wife.

I offered the land in Hampshire, for present maintenance, wch I dare say with copses and ordinarie fells will be communibus annis 500^{ll} p. annum, besides 500^{ll} per annum, in tennants handes houldinge but for one life, and about 300^{ll} p. ann. some for two lives, some for three lives. But as to this if the latter bee not liked off I shall bee willing a farther conference bee had in the first.

In point of jouncture I shall give satisfacion, And as to the settlement of landes given mee by the parlt satisfacion to be given in like manner, accordinge as wee discoursed.

In what else was demanded of mee I am willing (soe farr as I remember any demand was) to give satisfacion.

Only

Only I havinge beene enformed by mr. Robinson that mr. Maior did upon a former match offer to settle the mannor wherein hee lived, and to give 2000^{li} in monie, I did insift upon that, and doe desire itt may not bee with difficultye, the monie I shall neede for my two little wenches, and therby I shall free my sonn from beinge charged with them.

—Mr. Maior parts wth nothing in præsent but that monie, savinge their board, w^{ch} I shoulde not bee unwillinge to give them to enioy the comfort of their societie, w^{ch} itt^s reason hee smarte for, if hee will robb mee altogether of them. Truly the land to bee settled both what the par^{lmt} gives mee, and my owne, is very little lesse then 3000^{li} per annum all thinges considered, if I bee rightly informed. And a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn haveinge searched all the marques of Worcester's writinges, w^{ch} were taken at Ragland and sent for by the par^{lmt} and this gentleman appointed by the committee to search the sayd writinges, assures mee, there is noe scruple concerninge the title, and itt soe fell out that this gentleman whoe searched was my owne lawyer, a very godly able man, and my deere friend, w^{ch} I reckon noe smale mercy, hee is also posselt of the writinges for mee.

I thought fitt to give you this account, desiringe you to make such use of itt as God shall direct you, and I
doubt

doubt not but you will doe the part of a friend betweene two friendes, I account myselfe one, and I have heard you say mr. Maior was entirely foe to you. What the good pleasure of God is I shall waite, there is only rest, præsents my service to your lady, to mr. Maior, et.

I rest

April the 3^d 1648.

Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.

I desier you to carrie this businesse with all privacie, I beseech you to doe foe as you love mee, lett me entreat you not to lose a day herein, that I may knowe mr. Maior's minde for I thinke I may be att leizure for a weeke to attende this businesse to give and take satisfaction, from w^{ch} perhaps I may bee shutt up afterwards by imployment. I know thou art an idle fellowe, but prethee neglect mee not now, delay may bee very inconvenient to mee, I much rely upon you. Lett me here from you in two or 3 days. I confesse the principall consideration as to mee is the absolute settlement of the mannor where he lives, w^{ch} he would doe butt conditionally in case he prove to have noe sonne, and butt 3000^l in case he have a sonne. But as to this I hope farther reason may work him to more*.

* 'The three foregoing letters were in the possession of Robert Symmer, 'esq. of Mount-street, Grosvenor-square.'

'N.B. In a sheet list, 'of the names of the members yet living of both 'houses of parlement forcibly seclused by the army in 1648, &c.' appears
Southampton,

LETTERS NN.

Epistles from Oliver the protector, stating his son's idleness.

*'For my very loving brother Richard Major, esq. att
Hursley. These*.'*

Lovinge brother,

I Receaved your letter by major Longe, and doe in answer thereunto accordinge to my best understandinge, with a due consideration of those gentlemen whoe have abid the brunt of the service. I am very glad to

Southampton, col. Richard Norton, esq. knight, &c. He was chosen knight of the shire for Southampton, in the room of sir Henry Wallop, knight. who deceased in 1644, in virtue of writs issued oct. 24, and nov. 10, 1645.

In another list intituled 'a more exact and necessary catalogue of pensioners in the long parlement than is extant,' appears Richard Norton, colonel, governor of Southampton.

And in a third intituled 'a perfect list of the lords of the other house, and of the knights, citizens, and burgessees, and barons of the cinque ports, now assembled in this present parlement holden at Westminster, for the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, jan. 27, 1658,' appears county of Southampton, Richard Norton, of Southwicke, esq.

Sir Gregory Norton, one of Charles I. judges, was of Suffex or Kent, and, as I apprehend, of a different family from the colonel.

* Received 27 july, 1649, p. messenger, expresse from Newbery.

heere of your welfare, & that our children have so good leifure to make a journie to eate cherries, it's very excuseable in my daughter, I hope shee may have a very good pretence for it. I assure you Sr. I wish her very well & I beleive shee knowes itt. I pray you tell her from mee, I expect shee writes often to mee, by which I shall understand how all your familie doth, & shee will be kept in some exercise. I have delivered my sonn up to you, & I hope you will counsell him, he will neede itt and indeed I beleive he likes well what you say, & will be advised by you, I wish he may be serious the tymes requier itt. I hope my sister is in health, to whome I desier my very hartye affections and service may bee presented, as also to my cozen Ann to whom I wish a good husband. I desier my affections may be presented to all your familie, to which I wish a blessinge from the Lorde. I hope I shall have your prayers in the businesse to which I am called. My wife I trust wil be with you before itt bee longe in her way towards Bristoll. Sr. discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay mee. Lett me knowe wherein I may complye with your occasions and minde, and be confident you will finde mee to you as your owne heart wishinge your prosperitie & contentment very syncretlye with the remembrance of my love. I rest

Your affectionate brother & servant,

Bristoll,
July 19th 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

(On

(On the back of the foregoing letter, besides short hand, there is an account in mr. Major's hand, of his sheep and other cattle.)

For my beloved brother Richard Major, esq. at Murslye in the county of Hampton. Theist.

Deere brother,

I Am not often at leifure, nor nowe to salute my friendes, yet unwillinglye to loose this opportunitye, I take itt only to lett you knowe that you and your familye are often in my prayers. I wish the younge ones well, though they vouchsafe not to write to mee. As for Dick I doe not much expect itt from him, knowinge his idleneffe, but I am angrie with my daughter as a promise breaker, pray you tell her foe, but I hope shee will redeeme herselfe.

It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford & Rosse) a good interest in Munster by the access of Corke and Youghall, which are both submitted, their commissioners are nowe with mee. Diverse other lesser guarrisons are come in alsoe. The Lord is wonderful in theise thinges, it's his hand aloane does them; O that all the praise might be ascribed to him. I have beene crazie in my health, but the Lord is pleased to sustaine mee, I begg your prayers. I desier you to call upon
my

my sonn to minde the thinges of God more & more, alas
 what profitt is their in the thinges of this world, except
 they bee enjoyed in Christ they are snares. I wish he
 may enjoy his wife foe and flee him, I wish I may en-
 joy them both foe. My service to my deere sister,
 cozen Ann, my blessinge to my children, and love to
 my cozen Barton and the rest. Sr.

I am

Your affectionate brother & servant

Rosse, No. 13th 1649.

O. CROMWELL.

Rec^d 120 Dec. 49.

*' For my very lovinge brother Richard Major, Esq; att
 Hurstlye in Hampsheir. Theise *.*

Deere Brother,

FOR mee to write unto you the state of our
 affaires heere were more then indeed I have leisure
 well to doe, and therefore I hope you doe not expect
 itt from me seeinge when I write to the par^{lnt} I usually
 am (as becomes mee) very particular with them, and
 usually from thence the knowledge thereof is spread.

* This direction is in a woman's hand : underneath are wrote in mr.
 Major's hand these words ; ' 15^o May I wrote in behalfe of mr. Bonny,
 &c. of Dorsetti.'

Only

Only this lett mee say (which is the best intelligence to friendes that are trulye christian) the Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us his presence, & to prosper his owne worke in our handes which to us is the more eminent because trulye wee are a companie of poore weake and worthlesse creatures. Trulye our worke is neither from our braines, nor from our courage and strength, but wee followe the Lord whoe goeth before and gather what hee skattereth, that soe all may appeare to bee from him. The takinge of the cittye of Kilkenny hath beene one of our last workes, which indeed I beleive hath beene a grate discomposinge the enimie, its soe much in their bowells, wee have taken many considerable places latelye without much losse. What can wee say to theise thinges, If God bee for us, whoe can be against us, whoe can fight against the Lord & prosper? Whoe can resist his will? The Lord keepe us in his love. I desier your prayers, your familye is often in mine, I rejoyced to heere how it hath pleased the Lord to deale with my daughter, the Lord blesse her and sanctifie all his dispensations to them and us, I have committed my sonn to you, I pray counsell him. Some letters I have lately had from him, have a good favor, the Lord treasure up grace there, that out of that treasure hee may bringe forth good thinges. Sr. I desier my very entyer affection may be presented, to my deere
sister,

sister, my cozen Ann, and the rest of my cozens, and
to idle Dick Norton when you see him. Sr. I rest

Your most loving brother

Ap. ye 2^d 1650.

Carrick.'

O. C R O M W E L L.

** For my very lovinge brother Richard Major, esq. att his
House at Hurstye. Theise.*

Deere brother,

THE exceedinge croude of businesse I had att Lon-
don is the best excuse I can make for my silence
this way. Indeed Sr. my heart beareth me witnesse, I
want noe affection to you or yours, you are all often in
my poore prayers. I should be glad to heere howe the
little bratt doth. I could chide both father and the mo-
ther for their neglects of mee, I knowe my sonn is idle,
butt I had better thoughts of Doll, I doubt now her hus-
band hath spoyled her, I pray tell her soe from mee. If
I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes.
If my daughter bee breedinge, I will excuse her, but not
for her nurserie, the Lord blesse them. I hope you give
my sonn good counsell, I beleive he needes itt. Hee is
in the dangerous time of his age, and its a very vaine
world, O how good itt is to close with Christ betimes,
there is nothinge else worth the lookinge after. I be-
seech you call upon him, I hope you will discharge my
duty

dutye and your owne love: you see how I am imployed, I neede pittye, I knowe what I feele, great place and businesse in the world is not worth the lookinge after, I should have no comfort in mine, but that my hope is in the Lord's presence, I have not sought these thinges, truly I have beene called to them by the Lord, and therefore am not without some good assurance that hee will enable his poore worrne, and weake servant to doe his will, & to fullfill my generation. In this I begg your prayers, desiringe to be lovinglye remembered to my deere sister, to our sonne & daughter, my cozen Ann and the good family. I rest

Your very affectionate brother

O. CROMWELL.

Alnwick, July 17, 1650.

*For my lovinge brother Richard Mayor, esq; at Hurley.
These. In Hantsheire neere Winchester.*

Deere brother,

HAvinge soe good an occasion as the impartinge soe great a mercie as the Lord hath vouchsafed unto us in Scotland I would not omitt the impartinge thereof to you, though I bee full of businesse. Upon wedensd. wee fought the Scottish armie: They were in number accordinge to all computation above twentye

thousand, wee hardly eleven thousand, havinge greate sicknesses upon our armie, after much apealinge to God, the fight lasted above an hower, wee killed (as most thinke) three thousand, tooke neere ten thousand prisoners, all their traine, about thirtie gunns great and smale besides bullet, match and powder, very considerable officers, about two hundred colors, above ten thousand armes, lost not thirtie men. This is the Lords doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. Good Sr. give God all the glorie, stirr up all yours & all about you to doe foe, pray for your affectionate brother

O. C R O M W E L L.

I desier my love may bee presented to my deere sister and to all your familie. I pray tell Doll I doe not forgett her nor her little bratt, shee writes very cunninglye & complementally to mee, I expect a letter of plaine dealinge from her; she is too modest to tell mee whether shee breedes or not. I wish a blessinge upon her & her husband, the Lord make them fruitfull in all that's good, they are att leisure to write often but indeed they are both idle & worthie of blame.

Dunbarr, Sept. 4th 1650.

(No direction.)

Deere brother,

I Was glad to receave a letter from you, for indeed any thinge that comes from you is very welcome
to

to mee. I beleive your expectation of my sonn's cominge is deferred. I wish hee may see a happie delivrye of his wife first, for whom I frequently pray.

I heere my sonn hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt; truly I cannot comend him therein, wisdom requiringe his livinge within compasse and calling for it at his handes: and in my judgment the reputation arisinge from thence would have beene more real honour then what is attained the other way. I beleive vain men will speake well of him that does ill. I desier to bee understood that I grudge him not laudible recreations, nor an honorable carriage of himselfe in them, nor is any matter of charge like to fall to my share, a flick with mee. Truly I can finde in my heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more for his good, but if pleasure and selfe sattisfaction bee made the businesse of a man's life, soe much cost layd out uppon it, soe much tyme spent in itt as rather answers appetite than the will of God, or is comely before his saints, I scruple to feed this humor and God forbid that his being my sonn should bee his allowance to live not pleasinglye to our heavenly father, whoe hath raised mee out of the dust to what I am. I desier your faythfullnesse (hee beinge alsoe your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life, and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, & to seeke grace from Christ to enable

to walke therein. This hath life in itt, and will come to somewhat; what is a poore creature without this? This will not abridge of lawfull pleasures but teach such an use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience goinge alonge with itt. Sr. I write what is in my heart; I pray you communicate my minde herein to my sonn and be his remembrancer in these thinges. Truly I love him, hee is deere to me; soe is his wife, and for their sakes doe I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor incoragment from mee so far as I may afford itt; but indeed I cannot thinke I doe well to feede a voluptuous humor in my sonn, if he should make pleasures the businesse of his life in a time when some precious saincts are bleeding and breathing out their last for the good and safetie of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David, 2^d Chron. 11th 11th.

Sr. I beseech you beleive I heere say not this to save my purse for I shall willingly do what is convenient to satisfie his occasions as I have opportunitye, but as I pray hee may not walke in a course not pleasing to the Lord, soe thinke itt lyeth upon mee to give him (in love) the best councell I may, and know not how better to convey it to him then by soe good a hand as yours.

Sr. I pray you acquaint him with these thoughts of mine, and remember my love to my daughter for whose

fake I shall be induced to doe any reasonable thinge. I pray for her happie deliverance frequently and earnestly.

I am sorrie to heere my baylye in ~~Hantshire~~ should doe to my sonne as is intimated by your letter. I assure you I shall not allowe any such thinge. If there bee any suspicion of his abuse of the woode I desier it may be looked after and inquired into, that soe if thinges appeare true he may bee removed, although indeed I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man by diverse that knew him when I placed him there:

Sr. I desier my hartye affection may bee presented to my sifter, my cozen Ann and her husband though unknown.

I praise the Lord I have obteyned much mercye in respect of my health, the Lord give mee a truly thankfull hart. I desier your prayers, & rest

Your very affectionate brother and servant

June 28th
1651.

O. CROMWELL.

*' For my lovinge brother Richard Major, esq. at Hurst-
lye in Hantsheire. These,*

Deere brother,

I Receaved your lovinge letter for which I thanke you, and suerly were itt fitt to proceed in that businesse, you should not in the least have beene putt upon any thinge but the trouble, for indeed the land in Essex, with some monie in my hand & some other remnants should have gone towards itt. But indeed I am soe unwillinge to bee a seeker after the world, havinge had so much favor from the Lord in givinge me soe much without seekinge, & soe unwillinge that men should think mee soe, which they will though you only appeare in itt (for they will by one meanes or other knowe it) that indeed I dare not meddle, nor proceede therein. Thus I have tould you my plain thoughts. My hartye love I present to you & my sifter, my blessinge and love to deere Doll & the little one, with love to all. I rest

Your lovinge brother

May the 4th 1654.

OLIVER P.

These, with the three former letters, are given in Harris's life of Oliver Cromwell, and were too curious not to appear here,

LETTERS OO.

THE following dialogue between the protector, Richard, and colonel Howard, proves my assertion, that the former would not spill the blood of his greatest enemy to secure his grandeur.

When colonel Howard perceived that nothing but vigorous measures could secure Richard in his protectorate, from the treachery and ambition of Fleetwood, and his other relations, the grandees of the army, he thus addressed him.

'Tis time to look about you ; empire and command are now the question ; your person, your life, are in peril ; you are the son of Cromwell. ~~Shew~~ Show yourself worthy to be his son. This business requires a bold stroke, and must be supported by a good head. Do not suffer yourself to be daunted now, and my head shall answer for the consequence. Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, Vane, are the contrivers of all this : I will rid you of them ; do you stand by me, and only back my zeal for your honor with your name. The necessity of preserving yourself, dispenses with the severe laws of justice. If this is not done, the

army will be against you, and you are "infallibly ruined; and you have nothing to fear; I'll take it upon myself, and be answerable for the consequences."

'To this Richard replied: Every one shall see I will do no body any harm: I never have done any, nor ever will: I shall be very much troubled, if any one is injured upon my account; and, instead of taking away the life of the least person in the nation for the preservation of my greatness, which is a burden to me. I would not have a drop of blood spilt.'

'Do you think,' replies the colonel, 'this moderation of yours will repair the wrong your family has committed by its elevation? Every body knows that, by violence, your father procured the death of the late king and kept his sons in banishment. If the father's crimes cry for vengeance, shall the son have them passed over in silence? Mercy, in the present state of affairs, is unreasonable; we may shed that blood that strives to shed ours, without being blood-thirsty, or cruel; though conscience may sometimes obstruct a sovereign's sacrificing an innocent person to his ambition, it does not oppose his executing a criminal for his own safety. Lay aside this pusillanimity, so unbecoming the successor of Cromwell. Be quick,

quick, for every moment is precious. Consider your money spent this time in doing, which we will be repaid.

But, instead of evading his commitment against the pernicious colonies, he renewed his demands for the colonies' aid, and said, "all we want of it is my resolution is fixed. Whatever amounts that you wish me; and all you can persuade me to by what you now give, is, that a general fund may be raised, for which I am the first."—Just such a commitment as we may suppose to have passed between King Henry VI. and queen Margaret, paying the price for the future.

LETTERS TO

The *Journal* of the *English* *and* *Scottish* *Churches*

I Told you, when we were in Scotland, that I had been in the *English* *and* *Scottish* *Churches* for years of the

English *and* *Scottish* *Churches*, and
 I have been in the *English* *and* *Scottish* *Churches*
 for years of the

English
 and
 Scottish
 Churches

commonwealth much above my private concernment ; desiring by this, that a measure of my future deportment might be taken ; which by the blessing of God, shall be such as I shall bear the same witness ; I having, I hope, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be unquiet under it, that as to the late providence that has fallen out, however in respect to the particular engagement that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a change in the government of the nations, yet, through the goodness of God, I can freely acquiesce in it being made ; and do hold myself obliged, as with other men, I might expect protection from the present government, so to demean myself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of my power, that all in whom I have interest should do the same,



L E T T E R S

LETTERS QQ.

The schedule of the protector's debts as delivered into the parliament; copied from the journals of the house of commons.*

THE SCHEDULE OF DEBTS. May 14, 1659.

| | |
|---|-----------------------|
| When my father died, there was due unto several persons for diet, fuel, lights, household stuff, apparel, and several other contingent charges thereunto relating, for the provisions, and furniture relating to the Mews, as also for wages to officers and servants, the sum of | l. s. d.
28000 0 0 |
|---|-----------------------|

| | |
|--|-----------|
| Since which time the said debt hath been reduced to | 23550 0 0 |
| The foldiers being unpaid, and without cloathing in the winter-time, there was advanced for buying of coats for them, out of monies assigned to the family, the sum of | 3700 0 0 |
| There was lately borrowed by me, upon personal security, and lent for the supply of Dunkirk | 6090 0 0 |

Sum total 29,640 0 0

R E A L E S T A T E,

| | l. s. d. | l. s. d. | l. s. d. |
|---|------------|-----------|-----------|
| Dalby, Settled on my brother Henry Crom- | 989 9 1 | 2001 17 9 | 3201 17 9 |
| Broughton, } well upon marriage | 533 8 8 | | |
| Gower, } security of 15,000l. for a portion for my sister Frances | 479 0 0 | | |
| Newhall, with woods, settled for | — 1200 0 0 | | |

| | | | |
|--|------------|----------|-----------|
| Chepstall | 549 7 3 | 997 7 3 | 4117 12 4 |
| Magore | 448 0 0 | | |
| Tydenham | 3121 9 6 | | |
| Woolaston | 664 16 6 | 1477 6 0 | 1642 19 1 |
| Chaulton, with woods | 500 0 0 | | |
| Burleigh | 1236 12 8 | | |
| Okham | 326 14 11 | 2000 0 0 | 2818 0 0 |
| Egleton | 79 11 6 | | |
| Out of which payable yearly to my mother | — 2000 0 0 | | |
| In several annuities | 818 0 0 | | |

Remaineth clear per annum 1299 0 0

Which is incumbered with 3000l. debt, by me contracted, in my father's life-time, and as yet unpaid.

* The above sums are faithfully copied from the printed journals of the house of commons, but they are very faulty, and it is impossible to know how to correct them; the reader will please to compare the sum total with that mentioned in letters R.R.,

Part of the protector's private property was Finkley-Park, in the county of Hampshire, as may be learnt from the following extract out of the Harlein miscellany; vol. VIII.

Joyce ' being about to buy Finkley-Park in Hampshire, and having generously offered to part with all
' or any part of it again to Richard Cromwell; Oliver
' took him in his arms, and told him, that himself, and
' his son, and family, were more beholden to him, than
' to all the world besides; and therefore, bad him go on
' and prosper. Upon this Joyce, went the next morning
' about it, and there being a full committee (the *Park*
' belonging to the crown) he was just upon the point of
' contracting for the said *Park*, when on a sudden, in
' came Richard, his father then overtopping all in power,
' with three lawyers with him, and required them to
' proceed no further in it, in regard it was his own inheritance, and no park, as was supposed. — Whereupon
' Joyce informed the committee of the whole discourse
' that had passed between the general, his son, and himself, the night before; upon which he fell upon him in
' foul words, saying, sirrah, sirrah, hold your tongue, or
' I shall make you repent the time you were born;
' which the committee perceiving, desired them to
' withdraw;

‘withdraw ; and since that time he never durst meddle
 ‘with the park any further*.’

As Richard was appointed a commissioner of assessment in the year 1657, for the county and town of Cambridge, the isle of Ely, and the isle of Wight, the counties of Essex, Huntingdon, Rutland, Southampton, and Westmorland, it might be reasonably supposed, that he, or his father possessed some estates in all those places ; but this does not appear by the schedule, or by Oliver’s letters to mr. Major, before given, where other particulars of the Cromwell property may be gathered, and from all these, it will not be difficult, to pretty nearly ascertain the whole, or at least, a great part of their estates. It may be observed, that the manor of Newhall, in Essex, was an estate of the duke of Buckingham’s, and given to Oliver april, 2, 1651, computed of the annual value of 1309l. 12s. 3½d. mr. Morant, in his history of Essex, says it was exchanged by him, as part of the value of Hampton-court ; and that it was purchased by three citizens for 18,000l. but it reverted to its original owner at the restoration, who sold it to the duke of Albemarle.

* Joyce took this usage of Cromwell’s so much to heart, that it was near being the death of him, who, no one can pity, as he had been the tool of the protector’s worst actions ; and had been equally insulted before by him for his villainy.

L E T T E R S R R.

Settlement made by the parlement upon Richard Cromwell, esq. late lord-protector, from the journals of the House of Commons.

COLONEL John Jones reports from the committee appointed to consider, what is fit to be done for settlement of a comfortable and honourable subsistence on Richard Cromwell, the eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell, the opinion of the said committee, that the present clear yearly revenue of the said Richard Cromwell (which, according to the schedule presented in parlement, amounts unto one thousand two hundred ninety-nine pounds, over and above the jointure and annuities mentioned in the said schedule) be made up unto him ten thousand pounds per annum during his life : And, in order thereto,

That the sum of eight thousand seven hundred pounds per annum be settled upon the said Richard Cromwell, during his life, for his subsistence, to be issued and paid unto him monthly, by equal portions, out of the proceed, or revenue, of the letter, or packet-office ; and that the whole revenue of the said office be charged with the due payment of the same :

That lands of inheritance, of the value of five thousand pounds per annum, of the lands in the dispose
of

of the common-wealth, in England or Ireland, be settled upon the said Richard Cromwell, and his heirs, in fee :

That, when lands of inheritance, of the value of five thousand pounds per annum, be settled upon the said Richard Cromwell, and his heirs, according to the purport of the next precedent vote ; and that the said Richard Cromwell be in the actual possession thereof ; that then the sum of five thousand pounds per annum, part of the said sum of eight thousand seven hundred pounds per annum, to be charged upon the packet-office (according to the fore-recited vote of this committee) be abated ; and the said office thereof discharged for the future :

That the first monthly payment of the said yearly sum of eight thousand seven hundred pounds, to be charged upon the said packet-office, according to the precedent votes, amounting to the sum of seven hundred twenty-five pounds, be paid unto the said Richard Cromwell, upon the sixth day of June next, 1659, for one month, commencing the sixth day of May last, and ending the said sixth day of June ; and the said monthly payments to continue payable upon every sixth day of every month for the future, according to the purport of the said former votes :

That,

That, as the jointures and annuities in the said schedule mentioned shall abate, by the decease of any of the respective persons to whom the same are respectively payable, whereby the income of the real estate of the said Richard Cromwell shall be increased, the said yearly charge of eight thousand seven hundred pounds, to be settled upon the said office for his subsistence, be proportionably abated.

Resolved, that the debt stated, and undertaken to be paid, by the parlement for Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell, be twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

Ordered, that the said debt, not exceeding the sum of twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds, be satisfied by sale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-Court, belonging to the state, which may be conveniently spared : and that the same be forthwith sold, for payment thereof, accordingly.

Ordered, that mr. Ralegh, colonel Dove, m^r. Robinson, mr. Scot, mr. Dormer, be added to the committee, to examine, what goods in Whitehall, Hampton-Court, &c. belonged to the state : and that the said committee have further power to examine upon oath ;
and

and also to examine, what goods there were bought with the state's money.

Ordered, that it be referred to the said committee, to bring in an act for sale of the said plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-Court, for payment of the said debt of twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds *, accordingly.

Resolved, that the said Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the said late lord general Cromwell, shall be, and is hereby, acquitted, and absolutely discharged, from payment of the said debt of twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds, and every part thereof, and of and from all actions, suits, and demands, for or by reason thereof, by the creditors; and that the state will satisfy the persons to whom the same is due.

Ordered, that it be referred to the aforesaid committee, to take a true survey of the manors and lands

* It is probable that there was some of the Cromwell furniture in both the palaces of Whitehall and Hampton-Court, as they were both of them the usual residences of the Cromwells, whilst they were at the helm: it seems to have been the design of the parlement to drive Richard away from both those palaces, by leaving them destitute of furniture: to effect the same purpose, as well as to prevent those buildings being objects of ambition, they wanted to dispose of them, and all the other palaces: Ludlow saved Hampton-Court (not from his regard for monarchy) but Somerset-House was sold.

of the eldest son of the late lord general Cromwell; and examine the true value thereof; and report the same, together with the act for sale of the plate and goods appointed to be sold, on thursday morning next: and that the said committee have power to send for persons, papers, and records: and that colonel White, sir Henry Mildmay, mr. Say, and colonel Rich, be added to that committee.'

L E T T E R S S S.

Resignation of the chancellorship.

WHEN the protector, Richard, was deposed, he would immediately have resigned his chancellorship of the university of Oxford, and promised that whenever it would be to their interest, he certainly would do it, which he thus expressed in a letter to that body of learning:—'You should have had
' fuller experience of my high esteem for learning
' and learned men, if providence had continued me
' in my high station; but, as I accepted of the honour
' of being chancellor, in order to promote your
' prosperity, I assure you, I will divest myself of the
' honour, when it will contribute to your advantage.'

The

ILLUSTRATIONS.

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The very day the king's return was voted, he dispatched the following to acquaint them of his resignation :

' Gentlemen;

' I shall always retain a hearty sense of my former obligations to you, in your free election of me to the office of your chancellor ; and it is no small trouble to my thoughts, when I consider how little serviceable I have been to you in that relation. But, since the all-wise providence of God, which I desire always to adore, and bow down unto, has been pleased to change my condition, that I am not in a capacity to answer the ends of the office. I do, therefore, most freely resign, and give up all my right and interest therein, but shall always retain my affection and esteem for you, with my prayers for your continual prosperity ; that, amidst the many examples of the instability and revolutions of human affairs, you may still abide flourishing and fruitful.

Gentlemen;

Your affectionate friend and servant,

Hursley,

RICH. CROMWELL.

May 8, 1660.

The protector Richard's resignation was read, May 16, and the twenty-sixth following, William, marquis

of Hertford, was restored by the house of lords, and June 6, he was confirmed by the university; he died October 24, in the same year, and was succeeded by the duke of Somerset, who held it but a little while, after whom lord chancellor Hyde was elected.

L E T T E R S T T.

Extracts from dr. Piercy's loyal songs, to shew that the loyalists lampooned the protector Richard.

CROMWELL, though he so much had won,
 Yet he had an unlucky son,
 He sits still, and not regards,
 Whilst cunning gamesters set the cards;
 And thus, alas ! poor silly *Dick*,
 He play'd a while, and lost his trick.
 He play'd, &c*.

Drunken Dick, was a lame protector†,
 And Fleetwood a backslider ;

* Song LXXXVIII. Win at first, and lose at last ; or a new game at cards.

† Perhaps 'lame protector,' likewise alludes to Richard's limping, from the misfortune he experienced in 1657, and the last quoted verse seems to confirm it.

These we serv'd as the rest,
 But the city's the beast.
 That will never cast her rider.

*Then away with the laws,
 And the good old cause,
 Ne'er talk o' the rump or the charter,
 'Tis the cash does the feat,
 All the rest's but a cheat,
 Without that, there's no faith nor quarter*.*

Then Dick, being lame, rode holding by the pummel,
 Not having the wit to get hold of the rein :
 But the jade did so snort at the sight of a Cromwell,
 That poor Dick and his kindred turn'd footmen
 again†.

LETTERS VV.

IN the possession of sir Thomas Heathcote, are several letters from puritanical clergy, written in the style of the times, to condole with the protector Richard and

* A new ballad, XII. vol. II.

† Ballad LI. vol. II.

his lady, for the misfortunes that had befallen them ; one of which is the following.

‘ My lord,

• GIVE me leave, after my long silence, to present my most humble respects, as to your selfe, so to your most honourable and ever honoured consort, having you both daily in remembrance before the lord, as one who have beene sensible of your many and greate exercises in the midst of y^e great changes, which of late, have passed over us, in which our convulsion fits come so fast, that many feare we cannot hold out long, onely, the state hath, hitherto, beene upheld somewhat like the embleme of Geneva ; a city in the ayre, upheld by an hand from heaven ; for basis, we have none, but what that divine hand doth afford us, and how long it will continue thus to support us (our sins encreasing daily upon us) we have no small cause to feare. For the transgressions of a land, many are y^e princes thereof. All these paroxismes and feaverish distempers are y^e fruites of many provocations ; this is the originall of our many concussions, & y^e our Israel is smitten as a reed is shaken in y^e water. We complain y^e your fences are broken downe, & your plants rooted up, but our sins have let in both y^e bores and foxes, & whilest we are crying out of bad times, we have more cause to complaine of worse

worse hearts, & lives; & whilest we fall fowle with evill instruments, we consider not y^e y^e controversy against us lyeth in heaven. As for yourselfe, my lord, I hope your present retirement & privicy hath given you an acceptable opportunity to study y^e creature's vanity, & ye emptines of height, greatnes, power, worldly glory, popular acclamations, & professions, &c. And as to this point, this joynt of time hath taught you very much, which well to learne will do you more good, then it is possible for men to do you harme. And were you to make your choice againe, either of your late station, or present condition (the publick good set asyde) y^e election were soone made by him that had tryed both. As for y^e first of them, besides your freedome from meany temptations, you are exempted from y^e daily incumbency of over-bearing necessary cares & burdens, which (most probably) in a few years would have exhausted your spirits, & have rendered them a sacrifice to an ingratefull generation, as it befell your renowned father before you. Wherefore, my lord, rejoyce in your portion, & be ambitious of spirituall exaltation, which admits not of y^e variableness to which secular honours are obnoxious. One God in Christ, hath more honour, & glory, & riches, & delights, than a thousand worlds, were there so many. How gladly should I see & serve you, my ever hon^d lord, if an infirme body would give me leave! I sometimes visite y^e Cockpit, & be-

flow my labours there on y^e Lord's day, I hope not in vayne. I yet possesse y^e Savoy, though, not long since, heaved at, by Sr. A. H*. upon y^e account (I suppose) of my service to your father & yoursele. I have found it good to be sensible of the common concussions, as to all our earthly concernments. Let me presume in y^e close, to present my humble service to much-honoured mr. Major, & mrs. Major, & then I have no more but unfeignedly to recommend you, with all belonging to you, to the most rich grace of God in Jesus Christ, & to subscribe mysele,

My lord,

Savoy, 16th of
Nov. 1659.

your most humble servant,

WILLIAM HOOKE.

*For his highness Richard lord Cromwell,
at Hursley, in South Hampt. These.*

The above is the best written; I have, therefore, given the whole of it—there is another to the lord Richard Cromwell, by George Hughes, and dated Plymouth, june 14, 1659. It is a consolatory letter like the last, wrote by an old correspondent of his father Oliver's, but who had never written to Richard during his prosperity; he however, now visits him in his low condition; a third letter, upon the same subject, without any date, from

† Sir Arthur: Haselrige.

Walter Marshall to the lord Richard Cromwell, sent by desire of Richard's lady, who was, no doubt, then at Hursley, from whence he was retired; the writer speaks of the time, of Richard's suffering by reproaches, fears, wants, dishonour, treachery of friends, under which this letter is intended to comfort him*.

LETTERS WW.

Letters to Richard's wife.

IN the collection of the letters, belonging to the Cromwell family, in the possession of sir Thomas Heathcote, is one from a person who subscribes himself R. F. f. and addressed to the right honourable the lady Dorothy Cromwell, and dated june 25, 1660, in which that ladies oppression, at the change in her situation, is very evident. The letter begins: 'madám, prudence suffers not that I open my heart now on

* Sir Thomas Heathcote, besides these three, has several other letters written to the protector Richard and his lady; four of them are letters of condolence on the death of children; one is a spiritual exhortation to Richard, from Walter Marshall, the minister of Hursley; another from the same, to congratulate her upon her husband's elevation to the protectorate; in one of these of condolence from Marshall to Richard, is this sentence, which, as it is a proof of his compassion for the poor, I will give it. 'The widow Keeps, her child is well placed through your benevolence; the summe of fixe pounds was fully made up for her.'

paper,

' I am almost afraid to come over to your highness,
 ' lest I should be kept there, and so your highness lose
 ' this army, which, for ought I know, is the only stay
 ' you have, though I cannot but earnestly desire it. I
 ' also think it dangerous to write freely to you ; for,
 ' I make no question, but all the letters will be opened
 ' that pass between us, unless they come by a trusty
 ' messenger. I pray God help you, and bless your
 ' councils.

' I remain, yours, &c.

' H. C.'

This letter is given as entire as Mr. Neal has printed
 it, to shew how well aware Henry was of the designs
 of the republicans, so soon after his father's death, and
 how much he dreaded the consequences of their am-
 bition, at so early a period. The year before this Henry
 made use of this sentence, in one of his letters: ' 'Tis
 ' a sad case, when men, knowing the difficulties we
 ' labour under, seek occasion to quarrel and unsettle
 ' every thing again: I hear Harrison, Carew, and
 ' Okey, have done new seats. I hope God will infatuate
 ' them, in their endeavours to disturb the peace of the
 ' nation ; their folly shews them to be no better than
 ' abusers of religion, and such, whose hypocrisy the
 ' Lord will avenge, in due time*.' So well did he

* Neal's history of the puritans.

know them. They, of this stamp, generally did, at the restoration, meet with their deserts.—The three here mentioned were then hanged as regicides.

LETTERS YY.

A letter from Henry Cromwell, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to his brother-in-law, Fleetwood, dated October 20, 1658, given in Mr. Neal's history of the puritans.

‘ Dear brother,

‘ **I** Received your account of the petition of the officers; but pray give me leave to expostulate with you: how came these two or three hundred officers together? If they came of their own heads, their being absent from their charge, without licence, would have flown in their face, when they petitioned for a due observance of martial discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with his highness's privity? If they met without leave, in so great a number, were they told their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition; but,

‘ dear

' *dear brother*, I must tell you, I hear that dirt was
 ' thrown upon his late highness at that great meeting ;
 ' that they were exhorted to stand up for that good old
 ' cause, which had long lain asleep.—I thought my
 ' father had pursued it to the last. He died, praying for
 ' those that desired to trample on his dust. Let us;
 ' then, not render evil for good, and make his memory
 ' stink before he is under ground. Let us remember
 ' his last legacy, and, for his sake, render his successor
 ' considerable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought,
 ' and a bye-word *. Whither do these things tend ?
 ' What a hurly-burly is there ? One hundred inde-
 ' pendent ministers called together ; a council, as you
 ' call it, of two or three hundred officers of a judg-
 ' ment. Remember what has always befallen imposing
 ' spirits. Will not the loins of an imposing independent,
 ' or anabaptist, be as heavy as the loins of an imposing
 ' prelate, or presbyter ? And is it a dangerous opinion,
 ' that *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held by
 ' the church of *Rome*, and a sound principle when it
 ' is held by the fifth monarchy men ? *Dear brother,*

* There is something amiable throughout Henry's character ; his
 tenderness for his father's memory is pleasing ; he was much hurt by
 his death, but his grief spent itself chiefly in prayer ; nor did he hear
 of his sister Cleypole's death, without great and sincere sorrow.—
 Thurloe's state papers.

‘ let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we
‘ partake of their plagues. Let it be so carried, that
‘ all the people of God, though under different forms ;
‘ yea, even those whom you count *without*, may enjoy
‘ their birth-right and civil liberty; and that no one
‘ party may tread upon the neck of another. It does
‘ not become the magistrate to descend into parties ;
‘ but can the things you do tend to this end? Can these
‘ things be done, and the world not think his highness
‘ a knave, or a fool, or oppressed with mutinous spirits?
‘ *Dear brother*, my spirit is sorely oppressed with the
‘ consideration of the miserable state of the innocent
‘ people of these nations: what have these sheep done
‘ that their blood should be the price of our lust and
‘ ambition? Let me beg you to remember, how his
‘ late highness loved you; how he honoured you with
‘ the highest trust, by leaving the sword in your hand,
‘ which must defend or destroy us. And his declaring
‘ his highness his successor, shews, that he left it there
‘ to preserve him, and his reputation. *O brother!* use
‘ it to crop extravagant spirits, and busy bodies, but
‘ let not the nation be governed by it. Let us take
‘ heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the
‘ known laws of the land; and let all things be kept
‘ in their proper channels; and let the army be so
‘ governed, that the world may never hear of them,
‘ unless

‘ unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother,
 ‘ you must pardon me, if I say God and man may
 ‘ require this duty at your hand, and lay all his
 ‘ carriages of the army, in point of discipline, at your
 ‘ door. You see I deal freely and plainly with you,
 ‘ as becomes your friend, and a good subject. And
 ‘ the great God, in whose presence I speak, knows
 ‘ that I do it not to reproach you, but out of my
 ‘ tender affection and faithfulness to you. And you
 ‘ may rest assured, that you shall always find me,

‘ Your true friend, and loving brother,

‘ H. C.’

This well-written letter speaks Henry's universal
 philanthropy; and shews, that he did not want
 either spirit, or boldness, in so good a cause.

‘ E T T E R S

LETTERS ZZ.

Copy of a letter from Henry Cromwell (late lord lieutenant of Ireland) to lord chancellor Clarendon, copied from Thurloe's state papers; communicated by Joseph Radcliffe, of the inner-temple, in whose possession the original was.

May it please your lordship,

WHEN the declaration was framing, I did abhor to bee so unreasonable as to seeke any particular provision for myself in it; but when I saw myself secured by the multitude, and when his majesty by his special letters and promises declared, that though I had indeed escaped in the crowd, yet that hee had a particular mercy for mee; and when I saw hee could not bee prevailed upon to unsettle others, who perhaps (abating my name) were greater offenders, I did then presume to insist upon that his mercy; nor could I believe (with some) that my foe doing was dishonorable unto his majesty. And your lordship (being above making an interest by trampling upon the fallen, or by being bitter against things, that come to pass by God's secret providence) have most nobly and christianly patronized me in it, even to successe; and for this, in a few words, I give your lordship my eternall thanks and prayers.

Vol. I.

H h

I might

‘ I might, perhaps, have better expressed these my
‘ sentiments some other way; yet I have presumed to doe
‘ it thus, by a letter, that there may remayne a testimony
‘ of infamy upon mee, if ever I abuse the admirable
‘ mercy I have found, either by future disloyalty to his
‘ majesty, or ingratitude to your lordship. And I wish
‘ your lordship would add one favour more, which is to
‘ assure his most excellent majesty, and his royal highnes
‘ (how hard, or needles foever it be to beleieve me) that
‘ few can wish their royall persons, family, or interest,
‘ more prosperity and establistment, then doth,
‘ may it please your lordship,
‘ your lordship’s most obedient, most humble,
‘ and most oblieged servant,

April 9, 1662.

H. CROMWELL.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

A

*Extracts from 'The Register Booke for the Parish Church of
' all Sts. in Huntynodon, from the yeare of our Lord
' 1558, untill this 4th tent daye of the visitatio. houlden
' at the sayd church of all Saints, in Hunt. aforeseyd,
' the 18: of Apriel: Ano: Dom: 1599.'*

CHRISTNING.

Ano 1580.

Mr Ralfe Cromwell: y^e Sun: S^r H: Cromwell—
20th November.

BURIAL.

Ano 1581.

Mr. Ralfe Cromwell—buried 22th December.

CHRISTNING.

Ano 1582.

Dorothye Cromwell: daugh: to S^r H. Cromwell—
30th December.

BURIALS.

Ano 1584.

My Lady Cromwell's funeral was the 12th De-
cember.

My Ladye Swfan Cromwells: funerall was y^e xj.
day off Julye.

Ano. 1600.

Joean Cromwell, daughter of M^r Oliver Crom-
well, buried the 13th of February.

Mistris Oliver Cromwell, of godmanchester,
buriede the 27th July, & her funerall was the 17th
of August.

Richard, y^e sone of M^r Hary Cromwell, buried
y^e 18th November, 1601.

Mr Hary Cromwell, Captain, buried ye 24th De-
cember, 1601.

1603, January.

Sr Henry Cromwell, buried—7th.

1606.

MARRIAGES.

Aprill.

Henry Palavicino & Katheren Cromwell }
 Tobyas Palavicino & Joani. Cromwell } married 24 Day.

BURIAL.

1613, December.

The Ladye of Palavicino, buried the 17th Daye
 of februarie, 1613.

1616.

BAPTISM.

July.

Battynne Cromwell, daugh. of Mr. Henrie Crom-
 well, Baptized the 28th Daye.

BURIALS.

1617, June.

Mr. Robart Cromwell, }
 of St. John's Parish. } buried y^e 24 Day.

April, 1618.

M^{rs}. Baptinnae, the wife Mr. Henrie Cromwell,
 buried the 10 day.

June, 1618.

M^{rs}. Baptinnae, the daughter of Mr. Henrie Crom-
 well, buried the 7 day.

BAPTISM.

1620, Maye.

James Cromwell, the son of Mr. Henry Cromwell,
 was borne the 25th day of May, being Ascension
 day, & bap: 7th day of June.

BURIALS.

April, 1624.

George Walton, the son of Mr. Valentine Walton,
 of St. John's Parish, Buried the 7th day.

1626, April.

The Ladye Anne Cromwell, the wife of Sur Olyver
 Cromwell,—Buried the 26th Day.

B

*Extracts from 'The Register-book of the 15th church of St
John Baptist, in Huntingdon, made from the yere
of our Lorde God, 1585, of all marriages, Christ-
nings, and Burials.'*

CHRISTNINGS. Anno Dni. 1586.

Henrie, the sonne of Oliver Cromwell, Esq. borne
the xxvth day of August, and baptised the xxvijth
Ano. Sup.d.

Anno Dni. 1589.

John, the Sonne of Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, and
Elizabeth, his wife, was baptised the xiiij. day of
May, Anno Sup. dict.

Anno Dni. 1593.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Robert Cromwell,
gent. and Elizabeth, his wife, was baptised the xiiij.
day of October.

1594.

Katheren, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell,
Esquire, and Elizabeth, his wife, was Baptised the
xvth day of May, Anno Sup.d.

Anno Dni. 1595.

Henrie, the sonne of Robert Cromwell, gent. &
Elizabeth, his wife, was baptised the xxxj. day of
August, Ano. Sup.d.

Anno Dni. 1596.

Katheren, the daughter of Robert Cromwell, gent.
and Elizabeth, his Wife, was Baptised the vij. day of
Februarie, Anno Sup.d.

Anno Dni. 1599.

Englands plague for 5 yeares. *

Oliverius filius Roberti Cromwell, gener. et Eliza-
betha, uxoris ejus natus vicesimo quinto Die Aprilis,
et Baptisatus vicesimo nono ejusdem mensis.

* The words, England's plague for 5 years, are scored through with a pen.

Anno dni. 1600.

Margaret, the daughter of Robert Cromwell, Gent.
& Elizabeth, his wife, was Baptised the xxij. day of
Februarie, Ano Sup.d.

1602.

Anna, the daughter of Robt. Cromwell, Esquire,
& Elizabeth, his wife, borne y^e 2 day of Januarie,
Bapt. the 16 day of the same month, Ano. Sup.d,

1605.

Jane, the daughter of Robt. Cromwell, Esquire,
and Elizabeth, his wife, Bapt. the 19 day of Ja-
nuarie,

Anno Dni. 1608.

Robert, the sonne of Robert Cromwell, Esquire,
and Elizabeth, his wife, Baptised the 13th of January.

BURIAL.

1609.

Robert Cromwell was buried the 4 day of Aprill,
Anno Dni. 1609.

MARRIAGES.

Anno Domini, 1611.

June. Mr. Willia. Baker, and M^{rs} Jane Crom-
well, married die ij. Junij.

Anno Domini, 1617.

Mr Valentyne Walton, and M^{rs} Margaret Crom-
well, marry'd the xxth day of June.

CHRISTNINGS.

Ano. Dni. 1620.

George, the son of Valentyne Walton, gent. the
22th day of July.

Anno Dni. 1621.

Robert, the son of Oliver Cromwell, Esquire,
bapt. the xij. of October.

Ano. Dom. 1622.

Ana. the daughter of Valentine Walton, gent.
bapt. y^e xxijth of May.

Anno Dom. 1622.

Oliver, the son of Oliver Cromwell, gent. bapt.
the vjth of February.

Anno

Anno Dom. 1624.

Bridget, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, bapt. the v. of Augutt.

Ano. Dom. 1626.

Richard, the son M^r Oliver Cromwell, was borne the fourth day of October, and baptised the 19th day of October.

Anno Dni. 1627.

Henry, the son of Oliver Cromwell, Esquire, was born the xxth day of January, bapt. the xxix of the same month.

Anno Dni. 1629.

Elizabeth, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell, Esq. bapt. the ij. of July.

Ano. Dni. 1631.

James, y^e son of Oliver Cromwell, Esq. bapt. January, xvth.

BURIALL.

James, the son of Oliver Cromwell, Esq. buried January y^e ixth.

CHRISTNINGS.

Ano. Dni. 1636.

Mary, the daughter of Oliver Cromwell, gent. bapt. the ix of February.

Anno Dni. 1637.

John, the son of John Disborough, gent. was baptised the xxvijth day of Aprill.

C

Extracts from a register, in Huntingdon, intituled, 'Thys Booke, Maiyd 3^e 4 Daye of June, In y^e yeare of o^r. lorde god, 1574, the sixtent yeare of the Raigne of y^r. gracious m^{tie} that — —.'

Ano. Dni. 1599.

Ellen Cromwell, fuit sepult. decimo tertio die Aprilis *.

* There is another register in Huntingdon, but the name of Cromwell is not to be met in it.

D

*Ramsay. Extracts from 'A true and perfect Register of all
'Christnings, Marriages, & Burialls, as have bene
'found within the Pish. of Ramsay aforesaid, from the
'xxvth daye of August, in the yeare of o^r. Lord God.'*

1559.

CHRISTNINGS. Ano. Dni. 1607.

Henry Cromwell, son of S^r Philippe Cromwell,
knight, was baptized the fifth day of February *.

Anno Dni. 1608.

Philippus Cromwell, filius Philippi Cromwell,
militis natus erat Decembris, 25^o (et baptizatus erat
Januarii vij. 1608^o).

Ano. Dni. 1609.

Thomas Cromwell, son of S^r Philip Cromwell,
knight, was baptizyd the fowrth of January.

1610.

Anne Cromwell, the daughter of sir Philip, knight,
—was bapt. y^e xvth of Mch.

1612^o.

Oliver Cromwell, son of Sir Phillip Cromwell, was
baptizyd Maye y^e xxjth.

Ano. Dni. 1613^o.

Robert. Cromwell, y^e fyfte sonne of S^r Phillip
Cromwell, was bapt. the xxixth of June, 1613^o.

1614^o.

Elizabetha Cromwell, filia Philippi Cromwell,
militis bapt. erat Decembris xxj^o.

1615^o.

Mary Cromwell, daughter of S^r Philip Cromwell,
Knight, bapt, January y^e xvlijth.

BURIALL. Ano. Dni. 1617.

Marye, the wyf of S^r Phelip Cromwell, knyght, was
buried the third day of November, Ano: Dni, 1617.

* The register of Ramsay is very perfect (probably restored) yet this
Henry Cromwell is the first who is mentioned in the old book.

CHRISTNINGS. Ano. Dom. 1622.

Karina, the daughter of Henry Cromwell, Jun. Esq. was baptized the fife of September, 1622.

Ao. Dni. 1623.

Pembroke Cromwell, son of Henry Cromwell, Junr. Esquire, borne the xxth of November, and baptized the third day of December, 1623.

Ano. 1625.

Henry, the son of Henry Cromwell, Esquire, bapt. the xxijth of June, 1625.

Ao. Dni. 1626.

Elizabeth the daughter of Henry Cromwell, Esquire, bapt. the vj of Sept.

MARRIAGE. Ao. 1627.

John Baldwine, gent. & Hannah Cromwell, daught. of Sr Oliver Cromwell, knight of the Bath, were married the xjth of Sept. 1627.

CHRISTNING. 1627.

Marye the daughter of Henry Cromwell, Esquir. was baptized the xijth of Sept. 1627.

BURIALL. Ao. 1627.

Elizabeth Cromwell, a child, buried the xjth of Novemr.

CHRISTNING.

Marye y^e daught^r of Henry Cromwell, Esquire, Jun. baptized the xxvth of September, 1628.

BURIALLS. Ao. Dni. 1629.

M^{rs} Marye Cromwell was bur. the xijth of January. Sr Phelip Cromwell, knight, bur. the 28th of January.

MARRIAGE. Anno Dni. 1642.

Henry Cromwell, Esquire, & the Ladye Elizabeth Feres, were married the fourthe day of May.

BURIALL. 1642.

Phelip Cromwell, gent. buried the 12th of Maye *.

* Who this gentleman is uncertaig.

NEW REGISTER*.

BURIALL.

Ano. Dni. 1655.

Oliver Cromwell, Knight of y^e Bath, being Aged about 93 years, was buried the same night (28 of Augst).

1657.

Henry Cromwell, Esq. died y^e 18th daye of Septembr. and was interred in y^e chancell of Ramsaye, y^e nyne-teenth daye of September, 1657.

The lady Ferrers was Buried Septemb. 2, 1658 †, at the foot of the crosse, in the church yard.

BURIALS.

1665.

Col. William Cromwell, Gentleman, y^e younger son of S^r O. C. departed this life the Febr. 23, 9 in y^e morning, & was buried Febr. 24—9 of clock at night,

1673.

Henry Williams, Esq^r departed this life at Huntingdon, Aug. 3, & was buried the 6 day of Aug. at Ramsey, 1673.

1687.

M^{rs} Ann Williams, bur. Jan. the 10.

E

*Extracts from the 'Register of Upwood,' commencing 1605
'Anno Jacobi regis tertio.†.'*

BURIAL.

Anno Dni. 1595.

December 30, Hugo Plyett filius Cromwelli sepult. fuit.

* The old register at Ramsay, ends in march, 1642-3, and the new one does not commence till 1653.

† There is two crosses, placed about the time of lady Ferrers's death; so that, probably she might be a roman catholic; and that is confirmed by her desire to be buried near the cross.

‡ This is the oldest register; yet the next item is so early as 1599; but to account for this it must be supposed that it is only a casual insertion, as it stands alone in another part of the book: in the year 1619 it was miserably kept.

Anno

Anno Dni. 1615, Anno Jacob. 13.

BAPTISMS.

June 4, Henry Cromwell, the sonne of Henry Cromwell, armiger, was baptized—.

Anno Dom. 1616, Anno Jacobi 14.

December 12, Elizabeth Cromwell, the daughter of Henry Cromwell, Armiger, was baptized the 12 day of December.

1617.

Anno Dom. Anno Jacobi 15.

March 11, Anna Cromwell, daughter of Henry Cromwell, Armiger, baptized the 11th day of March.

BURIALS. Anno Dni. 1619.

Jan. 27, Eluzai Cromwell, the wife of Mr Henrie Cromwell, of Upwood, Esquier, was buried.

March 13. John Joanes, for. Sonne Mr Eluzai Cromwell, wife to Mr Henrie Cromwell, Esquier, was buried.

BAPTISMS. Anno Dni. 1621.

Aprill 22, Anna Cromwell, the daughter of Mr Henrie Cromwell, was baptized.

Anno Dni. 1623.

August 28, Anna Cromwell, the daughter of Richard Cromwell, gent. } bapt. fuit.

BAPTISM. Anno Dni. 1625.

July 28, Henrie Cromwell, the son of Richard Cromwell, gent. bapt.

BURIALS. Anno Dni, 1625.

December 16, Henry Cromwell, the son of Richard Cromwell, gent. buried.

Anno Dni. 1626.

Jun. 7, Richard Cromwell, gentillman the son of Mr Henry Cromwell, was buried.

Anno Dom. 1628.

Oct. 29, Richarde Cromewell, gentelman, was buried.

Anno

Anno Dom. 1630.

October 29, Henry Cromwell, Esq^r was buried.

BAPTISM.

Anno Dom. 1634.

Sept. 28. Jone Crom.all, daughter of John Crom.all, was baptised.

F

Extracts from the Register of Chippenham.

BURIAL.

1658. Elizabeth Cromwell, the daughter of Lord Cromwell,—Elizabeth, his wife, July 18.

BAPTISM.

Ladie Elizabeth Cromwell, the daughter of L^d Henric Cromwell, and Elizabeth, his wife, July 18 day, 1659.

Extracts from the Register of Hursley.*

MARRIAGES.

The right worshipfull Richard Cromwell, Esq; & M^{rs} Dorothy Maijor, the daughter of the right worshipfull Richard Maijor, Esq. were married 1st May, 1649.

The right worshipfull John Dunch, Esq. and m^{rs}. Anne Maijor, the daughter of the r^t wor^{ll} Rich^d Maijor, Esq. were married 2^d July, 1650.

BIRTHS.

1. M^{rs} Elizabeth Cromwell, the daughter of the right wor^{ll} Richard Cromwell, Esq. by M^{rs} Dorothy Cromwell his wife, was born 26th March, 1650.

2. M^{rs} Anne Cromwell, the daughter, &c. was born 15th July, 1651.

3. Nov. 1652, A son of the right wor^{ll} Richard Cromwell, Esq. by M^{rs} Dorothy Cromwell his wife, was born.

* Hursley register begins in the year 1600. All the entries of the marriages, births, and burials of the Cromwells and Majors are entered by the register-keeper at the beginning of the book, separately from the general register of the parish. The three last names were entered originally in the general register, but the two former of them have been since added to the separate register of the family.

4. Mrs.

4. Mrs. Mary Cromwell, the daughter of the right hon^{ble} the Lord Richard Cromwell, by the Lady Dorothy Cromwell his wife, was born 28th February, 1653.

6. Oliver Cromwell, the son of the right hon^{ble} the Lord Richard Cromwell, &c. was born 11th July, 1656.

7. Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell, the daughter of the right Hon^{ble} the Lord Richard Cromwell, &c. was born the 13th of Sept. 1657.

8. The Lady Anne Cromwell, daughter of his Highness Richard Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, & Ireland, by the Lady Dorothy Cromwell his wife, was born 27th March, 1659.

9. Mrs. Dorothy Cromwell was born the first day of August, 1660.

BURIALS.

1. M^{rs} Anne Cromwell, the daughter of the right worship^l Richard Cromwell, &c. buried the 16th March, 1651 (most probably 1652.)

2. Dec^r 15, 1652. A son of y^e r^t w^{ll} Richard Cromwell, &c. was buried.

3. M^{rs} Mary Cromwell, daughter of y^e r^t w^{ll} R. Cromwell, &c. was buried 26th Sept 1654.

4. May 29, 1655, A daughter of y^e right hon^{ble} Richard Lord Cromwell, &c. was buried.

5. The Lady Dorothy Cromwell, one of y^e daughters of his Highness Richard Lord Protector of y^e Commonwealth of England, &c. was buried 16th December, 1658.

The right worshipfull Richard, Maijor, esq. Lord of this manor of Marden*, deceased 25th April, 1660, & was buried y^e last day of y^e same month.

* Hursley is in the manor of Marden, or Merden.

M^{rs}

Mrs Anne Maijor, widow of the late Richard Maijor, Esqr was buried 17th June, 1662.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq. Son of Richard Cromwell, Esq. & Lord of the Manor of Marden, alias Merdon, died 11th May, & was buried the 13th, in the chancel of Hursley, Anno Dⁿⁱ 1705.

Richard Cromwell, Esq. was buried 18th July, 1712.

Mrs. Elizabeth Cromwell, daughter of Richard Cromwell, Esq. was buried 18th April, 1731.

In the body of the parish register are these items ; one of the burial of Oliver Cromwell, Esq. mentioned above, the other of the protector Richard's lady, which has never been added to the particular register of the family.

Anno Dom. 1705, Maii 13^o Oliverius Cromwell Armiger Hujusq. Manerii Dominus sepultus est.

1675, Jan. 6^{to} Domina Dorothea Cromwell sepulta est.

Upon an handsome marble monument, erected in the chancel of the same church, is this inscription.

THIS MONUMENT

Was erected to the memory of Mrs Elizabeth Cromwell, Spinster (by Mr Richard Cromwell & Thomas Cromwell, her Executors) She died y^e 8th Day of April, 1731, in y^e 82^d year of her Age, & lyes Interred near this Place : She was y^e Daughter of Richard Cromwell, Esq. by Dorothy his Wife, who was y^e daughter of Richard Major, Esqr. And the following Account of her Family (all of whom, except Mrs Ann Gibson, lye in this Chancel) is given according to her desire.

Mrs Ann Gibson, the Sixth Daughter, died 7th December, 1727, in the 69th year of her Age, & lyes interred

interred with Dr Thomas Gibson, her Husband, Physician General of the Army, in the Church Yard belonging to St George's Chapel, in London.

Richard Cromwell, Esq^r Father of the said Elizabeth Cromwell, died 12th July, 1712, in the 86th year of his Age.

Oliver Cromwell, Esq^r Son of the said Richard Cromwell, died 11th of May, 1705, in the 49th year his Age.

Mrs. Dorothy Mortimer, a Seventh daughter, wife of John Mortimer, Esq^r died 14th May, 1681, in the 21st year of her Age, but left no Issue.

Mrs Dorothy Cromwell, Wife of the said Richard Cromwell, died 5th of January, 1675, in the 49th year of her Age.

Mrs Ann Major, Mother of the said Mrs Dorothy Cromwell, died 13th June, 1662.

Richard Major, Esq^r Husband of the said Mrs Ann Major, died 25th April, 1660.

Mrs Dorothy Cromwell, a Fifth Daughter, died 13th Dec. 1658, in the 2nd Year of her Age.

A Fourth daughter died 27th May, 1655, in the first year of her Age.

Mrs. Mary Cromwell, a Third daughter, died 24th September, 1654, in the second year of her Age.

A Son of the said Richard and Dorothy Cromwell died 13th December, 1652, in the first year of his Age.

Mrs Ann Cromwell, a Second Daughter, died 14th March, 1651, in the first year of her Age.

Mr John Kingswell, Father of the said Mrs Ann Major, died 5th March, 1639.

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Extracts from the register of Wicken.*

1665.

Baptized Richard y^e son of M^r Henry } Septemb.
 Cromwell, & Elizabeth his wife } I.

1667.

May 20. Baptized William y^e son of Henry Cromwell,
 Esq. and Elizabeth his wife.

1674.

Buryed Henry Cromwell, } March
 Esq. } 25.

1685.

Buryed Oliver Cromwell, Esq. Apr. 10.

1687.

Buryed The Good ladye Cromwell, } April 11th
 Elizabeth Cromwell }

1689.

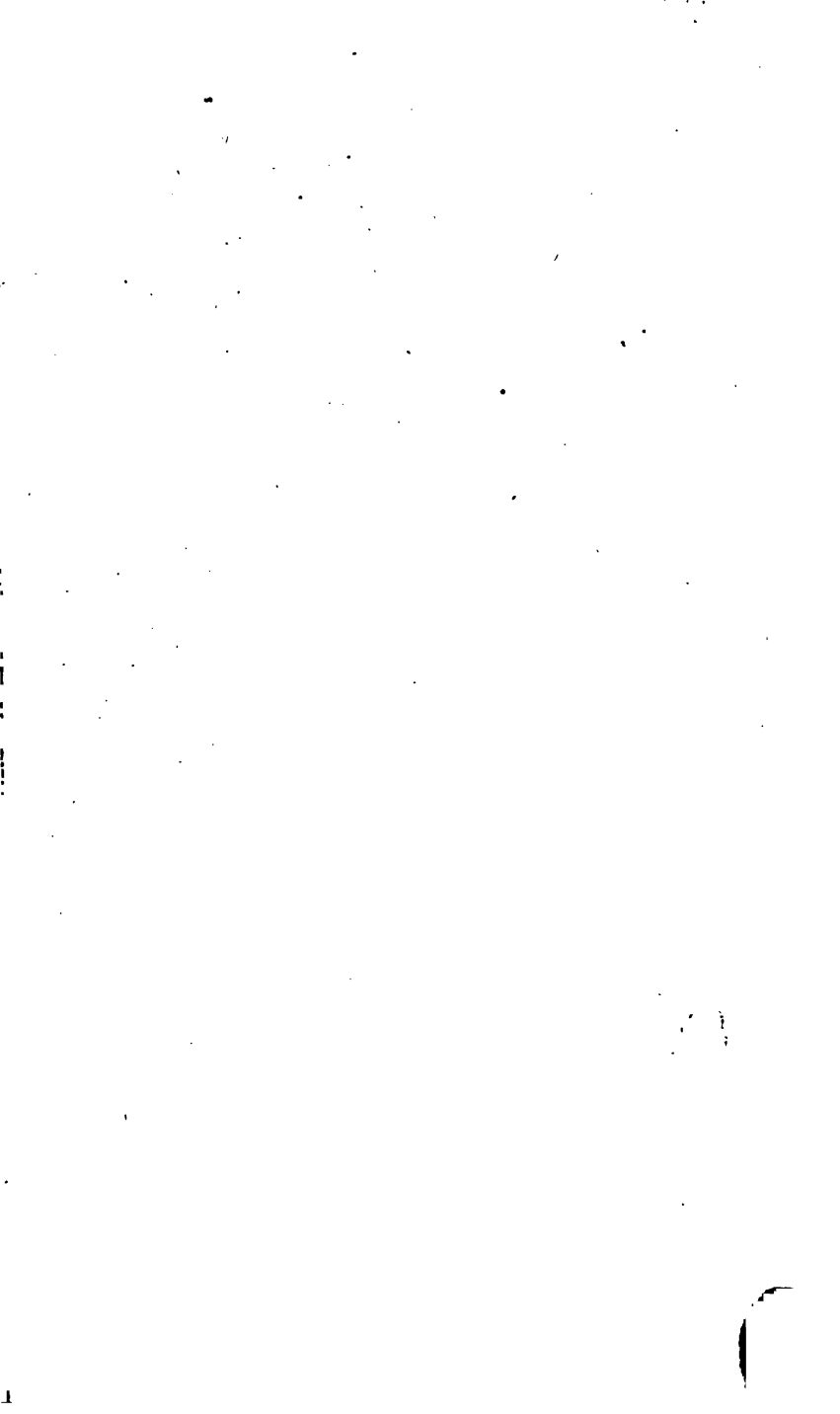
Bapti^d Benjamin hewling }
 Cromwell, the son of } Novem.
 Henry Cromwell, Esq. } 23.
 and hannah his wife }

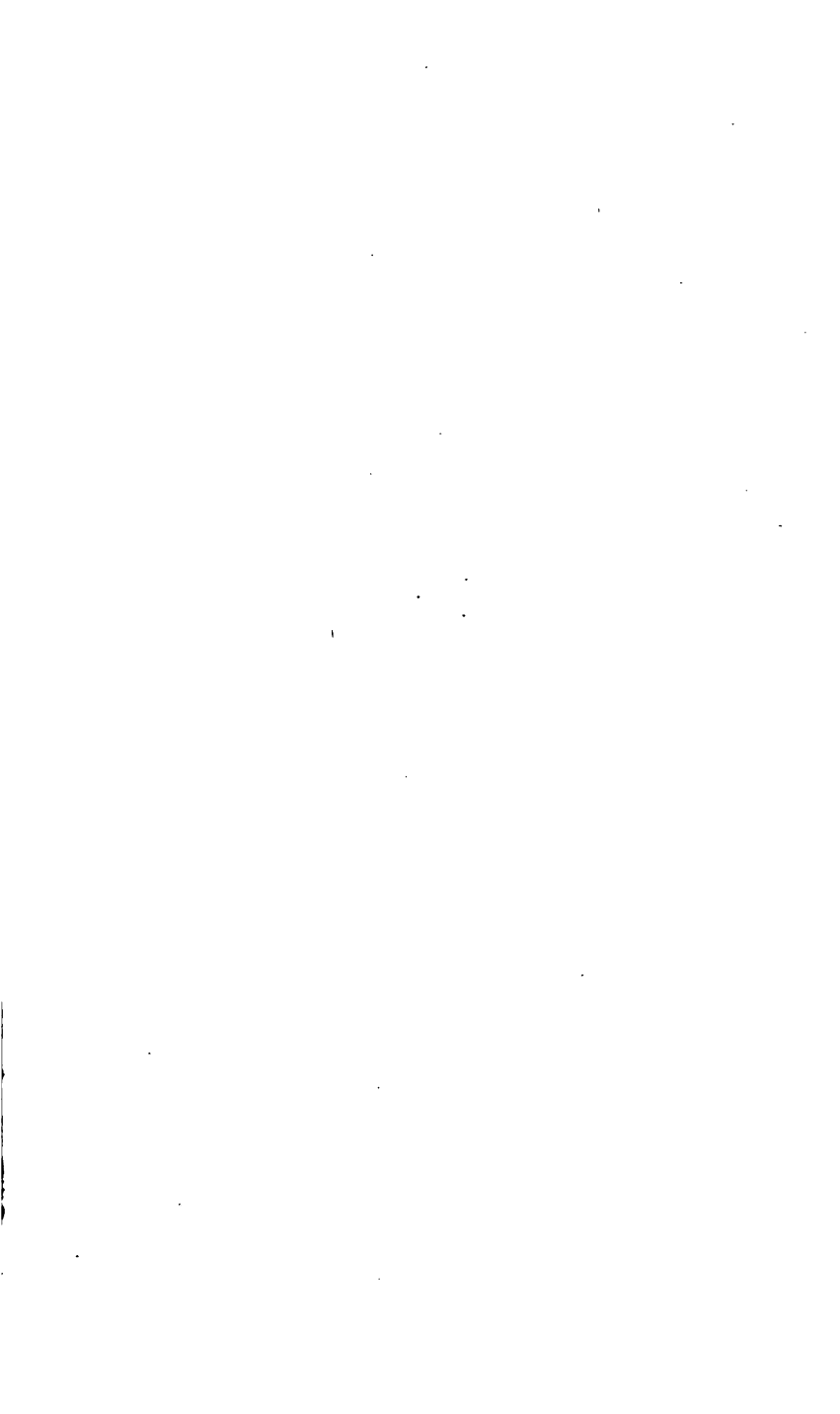
1692.

Burid Henry Cromwall, the }
 son of Henry and Han. } June.
 his wife the 9 day of }

* The register of Wicken has lost its title, and is most terribly kept ;
 the page upon which was written the widow of the protector Oliver's
 death, is also lost.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.







**THE NEW
REFERENCE**

This book is under no
taken from the b

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